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JNRC

JOURNAL OF THE NEPAL RESEARCH CENTRE

Edited by
A. WEZLER

In collaboration with
W. HAFFNER, A. MICHAELS, B. KÖLVER, M. R. PANT AND D. JACKSON

VOL. XII 2001

Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH Wiesbaden

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Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH Wiesbaden

Rs.600/-

ISBN 3-515-07771-5

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Printed in Nepal at
United Graphic Printers (Pvt) Ltd
New Plaza, Ramshah Path
Kathmandu

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Preface*

by A. Wezler, Hamburg

Like any other activity of human beings, research projects certainly belong to the category of *saṃskṛtas*, in the Buddhist sense of the word, and are hence finite. The Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project—the completion of which this issue of the *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* is to mark—was started in spring 1970; it was continued for 31 years, more than a generation. There are admittedly scientific projects which took, or take, even more time—such as certain dictionary projects carried out by academies of sciences, in the West, or projects preparing critical editions of the complete works of poets/writers, philosophers or composers etc. But the NGMPP was not, of course, conceived and begun with the intention of competing with such academic undertakings in terms of the duration in time! Its aim was rather, as indicated by its name, to preserve as much as possible of the culture of Nepal, i.e. the Nepalese people, in the form of handwritten and xylographed texts, and similar documents, by microfilming them. Yet it was clear right from the beginning, nay even before the project was started, that it would never be possible to cover this extraordinarily rich heritage in its entirety. It was therefore necessary to find another criterion for ending the work of the project, and this was constituted by the date of expiry of the last extension of the "Agreement between His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the German Oriental Society" on which the NGMPP was based, as also on the execution of a plan for its work which was developed some five years ago when the German Research Council (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), which supported it financially almost right from its beginning, had to be informed about the temporal perspective of our work.

After the passing of more than 31 years the internal eye is at this moment most naturally also turned back to the day when the agreement was signed, and this event reported in *The Rising Nepal* of Tuesday, February 17, 1970. We remember with deep gratitude the late Prof. Dr. Klaus Ludwig Janert, who is the actual father of the NGMPP: it was he who, thanks to the rather rare combination of competence in both library science and Indology (and Indo-European studies), and his early and in fact lifelong involvement with Asian/South Asian manuscripts, instantaneously realized the urgent necessity of taking steps for the preservation of Nepalese manuscripts when he came first to Kathmandu, in the sixties, and saw for himself that they were being sold on the market in front of the Hanuman Dhoka. It was he who succeeded in persuading Dr. Wolfgang Voigt, managing director of the German Oriental Society (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft) and head of the manuscript section of the State Library Berlin (at that time still evacuated, viz. in the city of Marburg/Lahn), to accompany him to Kathmandu in order that he might see with his own eyes how part of the cultural heritage of Nepal was being treated; and Dr. Voigt responded in the manner Janert had hoped for: he immediately, on the spot, declared himself ready to apply to the German Research Council for a research project the primary aim of which should be to preserve the manuscripts for posterity, to help to keep them in the country, but also to make them accessible to scholars all over the world. Negotiations were started with the Department of Archaeology.

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[*] It seems that these two pages were either never dispatched to Kathmandu or did not reach their destination. In any case they were unfortunately not included in the *JNRC* when it went to press.

This is not, however, the occasion to write the history of the/a NGMPP, or to mention the names of all those individuals who besides the institutions already referred to have contributed to its success. But it is certainly the right moment to sincerely thank all of them for their service, help, dedication, advice, but also their criticism and corrections. The project was started in 1970 by Prof. Dr. Bernhard Kölver—whom so many of us have grown fond of, who remains a close friend of Nepal and who will hopefully be able to resume his visits to Nepal—and it is now most efficiently and with dignity being concluded by Dr. Klaus-Dieter Mathes, who was in charge of it for the last six years or so.

Many of the former "representatives" of the German Oriental Society are represented in this volume, but others have also contributed to it. To all of them I should like to extend my heartfelt thanks.

Hamburg, May 2001

Was a Full Recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* Available in Nepāla in the 19th Century?

MUKTAK AKLUJKAR

The *Bṛhatkathā*, the famous novel written by Guṇāḍhya, is no longer available but is the source of several popular works of Indian literature, of which two, the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha* (BKŚS) of Budhasvāmin and the *Peruṅkatai* (PK), ascribed to one Koṅkuvēḷ, present the *Bṛhatkathā*'s main narrative in the most detailed (and in my opinion, the most authentic) forms available at present. Unfortunately for the *Bṛhatkathā* enthusiasts such as myself, the PK covers only the adventures of Udayana, the father of the *Bṛhatkathā*'s protagonist, Naravāhanadatta, and the BKŚS, which focusses on Naravāhanadatta's own adventures, is incomplete, with roughly three-fourths of the adventures missing. Despite the existence of other versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*, it is difficult to sketch an outline of this missing portion.

In this communication, I present evidence which suggests that this missing portion was at least partly available in Nepāla in the mid-19th century. It is my sincere hope that this possibility will encourage the search for new materials of relevance to the *Bṛhatkathā*.

The basis for my speculation is a verse in the text of the *Kārtavīryodaya*, written by Sukṛtidatta Panta in Nepāla in the mid-19th century, which compares a city to the *Bṛhatkathā*:

> kva cic chatā'nīka-kṛto'kti-saṅkulā kva cit punaḥ puṇya-jano'kti-śobhitā
> sarvatra somo'kti-yutā purī sā bṛhat-kathā syān na kathaṃ pṛthivyām ‖ 1.40
>
> Somewhere crowded with speeches made by hundreds of troops (or "by Śatānīka"), somewhere, again, beautified by the speech of meritorious people (or "of Yakṣāḥ"), everywhere endowed with panegyrists (or "the speech of Soma"), how could that city not be [the subject of] great stories (or "the *Bṛhatkathā*") on the earth?

This verse alludes to three features of the *Bṛhatkathā*: speeches made by Śatānīka, the speech of Yakṣāḥ, and the speech of Soma.

Of these three features, the speech of Yakṣāḥ is found in the extant portion of the BKŚS and in other versions, wherever stories of Yakṣāḥ are told. The speech of Soma may be the speech of Śiva (Soma = "accompanied by Umā"), since there is a tradition that the *Bṛhatkathā* was first narrated by Śiva. It is also possible that "the speech of Soma" refers to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the longest recension of the *Bṛhatkathā*, of which Somadeva was the author; however, I will presently show that in the first line of this verse, Sukṛtidatta refers to a version of the *Bṛhatkathā* other than the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. (As an expression applying to the city, *somo 'kti* has been glossed as *bhaṭṭa* or "panegyrist.") The remainder of this paper will focus on the allusion to the speech of Śatānīka, which is remarkable because it suggests that Sukṛtidatta was familiar with a *Bṛhatkathā* which is not represented by any of the recensions available at present.

The character of Śatānīka is a minor one in the available portion of the BKŚS. He is Udayana's father, who has abdicated in Udayana's favour and retired to the forest. He appears only in a memory of his wife, Mṛgāvatī, and his speeches in this episode are hardly a conspicuous feature of the *Bṛhatkathā*—not a word of them is quoted. The same is true of Śatānīka's role in the extant portion of the PK. Śatānīka in the Kaśmīra-based recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā*—the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*—is even more insignificant. In these recensions, he is presented as Udayana's grandfather, the subject of a short *Raghuvaṃśa*-style character sketch. Here also, there is no mention of anything memorable said by him. It is not likely that Sukṛtidatta expected his audience to appreciate a reference to Śatānīka as a character in the *Bṛhatkathā* based on any of the above-mentioned material.

However, there are two sources which suggest that Śatānīka was a more noteworthy character in the original *Bṛhatkathā*—these are abridged versions of the PK called *Utayaṇakumārakāviyam* (UKK) and *Uditodayacaritam* (UC). Although the PK breaks off shortly after the beginning of a condensed account of Naravāhanadatta's adventures, this account is continued by the UKK:

> [Naravāhanadatta is thrown from the sky, but is protected by a magic power.]
>
> vetir-ilaiy-eṉa vīḻntavaṉṟ aṉṉ-iṭaik katir-vēl-vattavaṉ-kātaṉaṟ-ṟantaiy-ām
> etir-varum-piṟapp-eṟikiṉṟa-mā-muṉi katir-ilaṅku-vēṟ-kāḷaiyaik kaṇṭaṉaṉ ‖ 268
>
> Like a bamboo leaf, [Naravāhanadatta] was made to fall amid bamboos. The affectionate father of the Vatsa king of sun-like armour (Udayana), the great sage (Śatānīka), for whom future lifetimes had been prevented, saw the young man (Naravāhanadatta) with his sun-like shining armour.
>
> pōti-taṉ-valip pōtav uṇarntu taṉ-kātaliṟ ceṉṟu kāḷai-taṉ-ṉāmam-um
> ētamil-tantaiy-eytiya-nāmam-um pōtac ceppal-um pōntu paṇintaṉaṉ ‖ 269
>
> By the power of enlightenment, understanding clearly [the situation], and out of affection for him (Naravāhanadatta), [Śatānīka] went and clearly spoke the young man's name and his faultless father's (Udayana's) name, which he had grasped. [Naravāhanadatta] prostrated himself and paid homage [to Śatānīka].
>
> tantaiy-eṉ-mutal-tām-aṟint'iṅk'urai antam-il-kuṇattaiya-nīr'ār-eṉa
> muntu-naṉmuṟaiy-ā-muṉi-tāñ-colac cintai kūrntu ciṟantoṉṟu kēṭṭaṉaṉ ‖ 270
>
> [Naravāhanadatta said,] "Your Highness knew my father's and my [name] before I could say the same. Endowed with ultimate good qualities, who are you? Tell me." The foremost of good people, that sage (Śatānīka), His Highness, having answered, [Naravāhanadatta] with rapt attention asked about an important matter.
>
> viñcaiyam-pati-veṟṟikoṇṭ'āḷum eṉṟ añcam eṉṟa naṟṟakkōr-uraiy uṇṭu
> eñcal iṉ-ṉilaimaiy atuv eṉṟ-eṉa viñcu-mātavaṉ-meymmaiyiṟ kūṟuvāṉ ‖ 271
>
> "There exists the word of enlightened people that victorious rule as lord of the Vidyādharāḥ, and its majesty, will be mine. When will that come true? Tell me, when?" The great and truthful [Śatānīka] of great austerities meditated.
>
> veḷḷiyam-malai-mēṉiṉṟa-rācciyam uḷḷat'ellām-oruṅkēy-aṭippaṭutt'
> eḷḷil celvam-um-īṇṭ'uṉakk'ām eṉṟāṉ kaḷḷ-aviḻ-kaṇṇik-kāḷaiy-uṅ kēṭṭapiṉ ‖ 272

> "You will subjugate systematically the empire atop the silver mountain (Vindhya or Kailāsa), any and all of it, and imperishable opulence will be yours," [Śatānīka] said, and the young man with the honey-dripping garland listened.
>
> [Leaving Śatānīka's forest, Naravāhanadatta soon achieves his goal.]

The narrative is essentially the same in the UC.

In the narrative of the UKK and UC, the speech of Śatānīka has the important function of convincing Naravāhanadatta that he can conquer the Vidyādhara realm. Naravāhanadatta's encounter with Śatānīka marks the point at which Naravāhanadatta's adventures give way to a serious struggle for power. Sukṛtidatta's allusion to Śatānīka's speech as a well-known feature of the *Bṛhatkathā* can be understood in the context given by the UKK and UC. As has been demonstrated above, nothing in any other available version of the *Bṛhatkathā* can be used to explain the allusion. Therefore, Sukṛtidatta must have known a version of the *Bṛhatkathā*, such as the PK, UKK or UC, which described Śatānīka's prediction of Naravāhanadatta's future success.

It is conceivable that Sukṛtidatta encountered the PK or a synopsis thereof, if one assumes that texts from the Tamil̲-speaking region were available to Saṃskṛta-speaking scholars in Nepāla, or reached them as oral traditions. (Dr. Mahesh Raj Pant has kindly informed me through Prof. Albrecht Wezler that Madhavsharan Upadhyaya's research in progress has connected Sukṛtidatta's commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with scholars from southern India.) However, the PK and UKK are written in the Tamil̲ language and we do not have any evidence that Sukṛtidatta was interested in Tamil̲ fiction or that he read or heard of these texts. (The UC is in Saṃskṛta, but not of a good grammatical or literary standard.) Furthermore, the PK, UKK and UC are all written by Jaina authors with obvious religious motivation—did Sukṛtidatta, who invokes the goddess Tāriṇī (Umā) at the beginning of each chapter of his work, have an interest in Jaina literature? As long as a connection between Sukṛtidatta and the PK tradition is not forthcoming, one must seriously consider the possibility that the recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* known to Sukṛtidatta was one which is not available at present.

Perhaps Sukṛtidatta had access to the complete BKŚS, of which the portion available at present was found in Nepāla. The question of whether the BKŚS was ever completed is unanswered. A Saṃskṛta verse quoted from the *Bṛhatkathā* by the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, a treatise on poetics, is not found in any available recension, and may belong to a lost portion of the BKŚS, or to the now-lost Saṃskṛta version of the *Bṛhatkathā* written by the Gaṅga king Durvinīta (a patron of Bhāravi). It is possible that Sukṛtidatta knew the BKŚS, Durvinīta's recension, or another recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* of which nothing is known at present. There is no way of knowing whether Sukṛtidatta used a complete recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* or a fragmented one. Nevertheless, whatever its inspiration may be, Sukṛtidatta's allusion to Śatānīka's speech suggests that the version of the *Bṛhatkathā* presented by the UKK and UC is based on a widespread tradition, and that this tradition existed up to the mid-19th century in Nepāla. Although I know how quickly literary treasures can be lost from the Bhārata subcontinent, the possibility that a full recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* survived long enough to be Sukṛtidatta's source about one hundred and thirty years ago gives me hope that the *Bṛhatkathā* may yet reveal itself to eager readers like myself one day.

I am grateful to Prof. G. Krishnan for his assistance with the Tamiḻ translations.

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For a New Edition of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*

KAMALESWAR BHATTACHARYA

Sylvain Lévi's edition of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, 1907, has remained up to now the standard edition. S. Bagchi's edition of 1970[1] is based on it, and, as the editor himself states, it "refrains from laying pretensions to advancement upon it."[2] It should, however, be said to the credit of the learned editor that his edition contains some important corrections and, especially, that he has been able to detect the misprints (not recorded in Lévi's notes to his translation, 1911, or in G. Nagao's corrections[3]) such as VI, 2c: *taditas* for *tūditas*, which was emended to *tadgatas* by E. Leumann[4]!

The circumstances in which Lévi made his epoch-making discovery of this text and in which he brought out his edition may not be so well known today. They are, therefore, recounted here in his own words:

> C'est par l'effet d'une confusion de titre que j'ai mis la main sur ce texte. Un peu avant de partir pour l'Inde, j'avais eu l'occasion d'étudier et de signaler à l'attention des indianistes un recueil important de contes bouddhiques, le Sūtrālaṃkāra, d'Açvaghoṣa, conservé dans une traduction chinoise. Dès mon arrivée au Népal, en janvier 1898, je me mis en quête der l'original sanscrit. Hodgson, dans sa Liste des Ouvrages Bouddhiques en sanscrit connus de fait ou de nom au Népal (*Sketch of Buddhism*, publié en 1828; réimprimé dans les *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874: p. 37), mentionne (n° 29) le Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṃkāra; l'espoir de le retrouver n'était donc pas complètement interdit. Bientôt, en effet, le Pandit Kulamāna, de Patan, qui s'était intéressé à mes recherches, m'annonçait qu'un de ses amis possédait un manuscrit de l'ouvrage; il refusat toutefois de s'en dessaisir. Je finis par en obtenir la communication; il ne s'agissait pas du Sūtrālaṃkāra d'Açvaghoṣa, mais bien du Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṃkāra d'Asaṅga. Au lieu d'un recueil de contes édifiants, c'etait un exposé scolastique des doctrines mahāyānistes sur le Bodhisattva, au point de vue de l'école des Yogācāras. Il n'entre pas dans mon propos de marquer ici l'interêt de ce texte, ni de signaler les problèmes qu'il pose ou qu'il résout. Je compte traiter en détail ces questions dans l'Introduction à la traduction que je publierai prochainement; c'est dans le même fascicule que je donnerai aussi l'index des termes techniques dont l'ouvrage foisonne, et les éclaircissements que je pourrai en fournir. Icì, je ne me suis próccupé que d'établir le texte.

---

[1] *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra of Asaṅga*, edited by S. Bagchi, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 13 (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1970).

[2] *Ibid.*, 21.

[3] G. M. Nagao, *Index to the Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra* (Tokyo: 1958-61).

[4] S. Schayer, "Die Erlösungslehren der Yogācāra's nach dem Sūtrālaṃkāra des Asaṅga," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 2 (1923): 117, n. 2.

> La besogne, à dire vrai, n'était pas si facile. Je ne disposais que de la copie exécutée, sous ma surveillance, par le Pandit Kulamāna, reproduction fidèle d'un original assez bon dans l'ensemble, mais parsemé de menues fautes dues principalement à la confusion de lettres analogues dans la devanāgarī du Népal. . . .[5]

To the best of my knowledge, Lévi did not bring to Paris any other document on the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* than the copy just mentioned; and, contrary to belief, this copy was perhaps not so "faithful." For instance, at IX, 23 a-b, in the copy we read

śūnyatāyāṃ viśuddhāya nairātmyātmāgalābhataḥ (Pl. 1),

which Lévi edited as:

śūnyatāyāṃ viśuddhāyāṃ nairātmyāṇ mārgalābhataḥ.

And this reading has been adopted by Bagchi.

But the correct reading in b is evidently

. . . nairātmyātmāgralābhataḥ, ·

as suggested also by Nagao, on the basis of the Tibetan and Sthiramati.

Lévi spared no pains to correct his text, printing errors included. His personal copy of his edition—to which I have been fortunate enough to have access—is replete with corrections. At the end of the book he filled every blank space, patiently listing the corrections. But all this invaluable material, written in colour pencil, is becoming hazier and hazier over the years. An attempt should be made to save it, before it is too late. But, above all, a new edition of this important text, on the basis of original manuscripts, is called for. It is possible that the mansucript of Pandit Kulamāna, which Lévi was not allowed to use directly, is still available and has even been microfilmed by the Nepal Research Centre!

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[5] [It was as the result of a confusion over titles that I got my hands on this text. A little before leaving for India I had the occasion to study, and to draw the attention of Indologists to, an important collection of Buddhist tales, the Sūtrālaṃkāra of Aśvaghoṣa, preserved in a Chinese translation. From the moment of my arrival in Nepal, in January 1898, I engaged in a search for the original Sanskrit. Hodgson, in his List of Buddhist Works in Sanskrit known by fact or by name in Nepal (*Sketch of Buddhism*, published in 1828; reprinted in *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874; p. 37), mentions (no. 29) the Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṃkāra; hopes of recovering it were thus not completely ungrounded. Pandit Kulamāna of Patan, who had taken an interest in my research, was soon announcing to me that one of his friends owned a manuscript of the work; the latter, however, refused to part with it. In the end I received the information that it was not the Sūtrālaṃkāra of Aśvaghoṣa but the Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṃkāra of Asaṅga. Instead of being a collection of edifying tales, it was a scholastic treatise dealing with Mahāyāna doctrines on the Bodhisattva, from the point of view of the Yogācāra school. It is not my purpose here to point out the interest this text affords, nor to indicate the problems it poses or that it resolves. I intend to consider these questions in the Introduction to the translation I shall be publishing shortly; in the same fascicle I shall also provide an index of technical terms the work abounds in, along with explanations I have been able to furnish of them. Here I am merely concerned with establishing the text.

The task, to tell the truth, was not so easy. I had at my disposal only the copy made under my supervision by Pandit Kulamāna—a faithful reproduction of, on the whole, a fairly good original, but one scattered with minor mistakes due principally to the confusion in similar-looking letters in the Devanāgarī of Nepal. . . .] *Asaṅga, Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra, exposé de la doctrine du Grand Vehicule selon le système Yogācāra*, édité et traduit d'après un manuscrit rapporté du Népal par Sylvain Lévi, I (Paris: 1907), i-ii.

Sylvain Lévi's Emendations to His Edition of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*[6]

Page/verse/line	*Corrigenda*	*Emendations*
p.2,v.6a	anarthaṃ	anarghaṃ
p.3,l.2	anartha°	anargha°
l.4	°ty atra	°ty ete
v.7,l.8	bhāva	bhāve
p.4,v.9,l.9	°yānam ava	°yānam eva
p.6,l.2	kāraṇatvena	°ṇatve ca
v.15,l.3	[mārgasyānugamāc ca]	mārgasya / anugamāc ca
p.8,v.20d	pratīghāvatīva	pratīghāvṛtī ca
p.9,v.3b	kauśalya°	kauśala°
v.3c	[saṃsaraṇe 'py eka°]	saṃsṛtiśāntyeka°
v.12d	mahārtha °	mahārya°
p.13,v.12,l.2	cotsāhaḥ	cākhedaḥ
v.13d	read bhavati sumūlam udagragotram etat according to the Tibetan or sumūlavad agra°	
p.13,IV.1,l.1	pratipakṣotsa°	pratipattyutsa°
p.14 v.3-6,l.4	tajjñānālambanāt	tajjñānaparyeṣṭyālambanaḥ according to the Tibetan
p.15,l.3	[kuśalamūlād vātītapuṣṭitaḥ]	kuśalamūlād vā tadgotrapuṣṭitaḥ the Tibetan
l.4	iva	eva
p.16,v.15d	°parocchrāyaḥ	°paro jñeyaḥ
v.19b	vetesaga[prabhavaḥ]	cetasaprabhavaḥ
p.17,l.5	shift the daṇḍa in front of anutpa° and place after lābhe	
p.17,l.9	'kṣagatā°	'kṣayatā°
p.17 v.21,l.3	svato 'bhiprā°	sūtrābhi°
p.20,v.4-5,l.4	read avavādaḥ / cittasthitiḥ / prajñāvimuktiḥ /	
l.5	read guṇaiḥ samudāgamaḥ /	
p.22,v.2d	tadita°	tūditas ta°
v.11,l.2	subhūta	subhūtaṃ
l.3	nadaṃ	nedaṃ

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[6] This list was compiled by Pandit Dibakar Acharya of the Nepal Research Centre on the basis of imperfect photocopies of S. Lévi's list, with certain changes in sequence and translations from the French. It was partly revised by the author of this note, with particular attention to the items which were not clear to the pandit. The list has been scanned onto computer by Peter Wyzlic of Bonn University. Neither the photocopies nor the scanning yields a result satisfactory for reproduction purposes, amd it is for this reason that the list has been made. Plate 2 will provide the reader with an idea of what the original list looks like.

p.23,v.3-4,l.3	duḥkhasyāduḥkhito	duḥkhasya / duḥkhito
l.8	°paśyan na vidya°	°paśyann avidya°
v.6c & p.24,l.7	°viniśrita°	viniścata°
p.24,l.14	grāhyabhāve	grāhyābhāve
p.25,v.1,l.2	°jñāyāṃ	°jñā yāṃ
l.5	sapramedeṣu	saprabhedeṣu
p.26,v.5c	read mārālayākṣubdhavimāna°	
p.28,v.3,l.2	avettyaprabhāva°	°prasāda°
p.29,v.6,l.1	read °saṃkhyānanirodha	
p.30,v.12c-d	read tathāśraye 'smin dyayapakṣaśāntatāṃ tathopabhogatvasuśāntipakvatāṃ	
v.13,l.2	vāhya°	bāhya°
p.31,l.1	pācananā (?)	pācanā
p.31,v.16,l.3	anāgatena	tena
p.32,v.18c	upāyacittai°	°vit tai°
v.19,l.1	°khede vīrye°	°khedavī°
l.4	[graheṇeti yādṛśena]	graheṇeti / yādṛśena
p.33,v.22,l.5	[veditavyaḥ yāva°]	veditavyaḥ / yāva°
p.34,v.4-5,l.5	[deśanā dharma°]	deśanādharma°
v.6a	sarvadharmaḥ	sarvadharmāḥ
p.35,v.10,2	shift the daṇḍa from svārtha° to saddharma°	
p.36,v.13c-d	janamaghābhi°	janaṃ bhavābhi°
v.14a	śrayo	śraye
p.37,v.19b	prabhāva°	prabhāsa°
p.38,v.24c	tasmād baddha°	tasmād buddha°
p.39,v.33,l.1	°prabhāsena	prabhāsane
v.34,l.2	nāmābhājana°	nāmabhājana°
p.39,v.35ab	[°citrā vicitrā]	°citrāvicitratā
p.40,v.38c	pratyekabuddhebhyo manaḥ	°ddhabhaumena
p.41,v.45c	[°nirvāṇaṃ]	°nirvāṇe
v.45d	[acale]	amale
p.42,l.1	'saṃklaśa°	'saṃkleśa°
v.49d	pakvo vā ca	pakvo vā na ca
v.50c	read yad dhīrā diśi diśi acording to the Tibetan	
v.49,l.3	vrajanapākaṃ	°jan pā°
p.42,50a	kṛtvā caryāṃ	kṛcchāvāpyāṃ
p.43,l.1	tad anubhūya / mā°	/ tadanurūpamārga
v.51a	?? dharmāñ cakraṃ	dharmyaṃ cakraṃ
v.52,l.1	daśayati	darśayati
p.44,v.55,l.2	°vṛddhiṃ dhyānādhikatvāt (ms. dhyānadhi°)	°vṛddhiṃ cānadhikatvāt
v.56,l.1	°viśaddhi°	°viśuddhi°
p.45,v.60,l.1	nirmāṇena	nirmāṇāni
v.62a	tac chiṣṭaḥ	tac chliṣṭaḥ
v.63,l.1	[°nirmāṇaṃ sāṃbhogikaḥ svātha°]	nirmāṇaṃ /sāṃbhogikaḥ svārtha°

p.46,v.66,l.1	ta ca	te ca
l.5	°ntarvyaye	°ntardhāya
p.47,v.70,l.1	°kāleṣu	°kāle sa[t]tveṣu
v.72a	jñāne	jñānaṃ
[v.75,l.2	saṃkhyātakṣetrataś ca]	saṃkhātaḥ kṣetrataś ca
p.48,v.77,l.4	buddhaḥ satvārtha°	buddhaḥ / sa[t]tvārtha°
l.6	saṃsthānāyogā°	saṃbhārāyogā°
p.49,v.86a	itinirupama°	iti nirupama°
l.1	saṃpattitaḥ	saṃpattiḥ
l.3	°mānahīnabodhi°	°mān arhati bodhi°
p.50,v.2,l.1	yānālamba°	yām ālamba°
p.51 v.4,l.1	add a daṇḍā after kauśīdyaṃ	
l.4	amanasikāra	’manasi°
p.52 v.9,l.2	rājñāṃ	ājñā-
v.10,l.3	ślokāḥ	°kaḥ
p.53,v.14a	mahogha°	mahārya°
l.2	’pariṇīya°	°parihāṇīya°
p.54,l.2 ??	’vipratisārād avipratisāreṇa	’vipratisārādikrameṇa
p.55,l.3	daṇḍakarmaṇaḥ	°karmaṇāṃ
ll.3-4	read samavaghātaḥ śi° . . . paryāyeṇa anujñānāt	
l.5	vedā°	ced ā° or baved ā°
l.6	[dharmoddānākaraiḥ]	dharmoddānākāraiḥ
l.7	°pannābhāve dharmaprati°	°pattyabhāve dharmatāprati°
l.9	[saṃgha°]	saṃghaṃ
v.5,l.2 ??	[tathatādyayaṃ /]	tathatā dyayaṃ /
p.57,l.2	read nirvitarkasavicāra°	
l.16	vinirdhāvanā°	vinirghāṭanā°
p.59,l.2	bhinnatvāta	bhinnatvāt
v.15,l.1	yantra°	°malla°
v.18d	patiḥ	yatiḥ
p.60,v.23a and l.2	°vādābha°	°vādānta°
p.61,v.25-26,l.1	°grāhyabhrāntito	°grāhabhrāntito
l.2	pratibimbaṃ saṃ°	pratibimbasaṃ°
v.27b	bhāvābhāvaviśeṣataḥ	bhāvābhāvāviśe°
v.27,l.4	lakṣaṇās tasmā°	lakṣaṇā / tasmā°
v.29c	ya	ye
v.29d	nirmārā°	nirmānā°
p.63,v.32,l.1	bhāvāṅgād ālaya°	svabījād ā°
v.33,l.3	shift the daṇḍa in front of bhāvanāmārgeṇa after the latter.	
p.63,v.35,l.1	read dharmāṇāṃ / atas tatra cittam eva / tac ci°	
p.64,v.39c	asaṃkalpa°	asatkalpa°
p.65,v.40 comm.	prathama°	prathamas°
v.41,l.3	°śaddha°	°śuddha°
v.41,l.1-2	parikalpitā nābhāvatā	°lpitānāṃ bhāvatā
v.42a comm.	niṣpanda°	niṣyanda°
l.5	tathā	tayā

[p.65,v.42a,l.5]	°parāvattiḥ	°parāvṛttiḥ
p.67,v.48,l.3	aparaparyāyaḥ	aparaḥ paryāyaḥ
p.67,v.50c	grāhavat tadābhāvāt	°t tadabhāvā°
p.67,v.50,l.5	nityasukhaśacyātto	°śucyātmā
p.68,l.3	°svabhāvatābhir niḥsvabhāvatayā	°svabhāvatādibhir niḥ°
v.52,l.5	unite tadanyathā and bhāvasya°	
v.53,ll.6-7	bodhisaṃbhāracaritād anātmani	°caritānām ātmani
	baddhāśaya	buddhā°
p.69,l.1	tanā°	tenā°
p.70,v.59,l.4	agnidṛṣṭānte ca	°dṛṣṭāntena
p.71,l.1	[evaṃ manasi°]	evaṃmanasi°
p.72,v.63,l.3	daśanā°	deśanā°
p.72,v.64,l.4??	śāvañ ca	śārthaṃ ca
p.73,v.66d	°vedanād dvayoḥ	vedanā
p.73,penultimate line	°bhinivartanāt	°nivartanā
p.73,last line	sthāpanāt	sthāpanā
	śarudibhyaḥ	śakrādibhyaḥ
p.74,v.69,l.1	pratyayakārā°	pratyupakārā°
l.6	satvāvaraṇā°	sa[t]tvārthāvaraṇā°
l.7	dānādibhir avadhya°	°r avandhya°
p.74,v.70b	cetanāt	cetanā
p.74,v.71,l.1	put together prativarṇikā and bhāvanāyām /	
v.72d	dhāraṇāt	dhāraṇā
p.74,penultimate line	yātvā	yāṃ yāṃ
last line	shift the daṇḍa in front of °yatā 'bhi° after dānādīnām	
p.75,v.73,l.1	°bhede	°prabhede
v.74-75,l.2	cittatva°	vibhutva°
v.76b	cārogyaṃ	cārogye
p. 76,v.77,l.2	remove the daṇḍa after °ṇāha and place between °pāramitāyām and iha	
p.77,v.1,l.1	kṣayitvā	°yitvāt
p.78,v.5c	vijñeyaṃ	vijñeyā
p.79,l.3	pratatā	pramitā
l.4	read °kūlā parimitāyāmakhedāt	
p.80,l.5	anantā	anelā
l.19	'bhīkṣṇabhaṅgura°	tīkṣṇabhaṅgura°
p.81,v.13,l.1	°prakāśanāta	°prakāśanāt
p.82 v.16-17,l.6	sānuśaṃse	°śaṃsaṃ
fourth line from the bottom	sa saṃkliṣṭā	susaṃkli°
p.83,l.1	satatābhi°	samatā°
l.6	put a daṇḍa before vaipulya°	
p.84,v.24a	sugati°	sumati°
l.3	°citta	°cittaṃ
	vākyavineyā°	vākyaṃ vineyā°
p.85,v.3,l.1	nairātmyabhāvaṃ	nairātmyadvayaṃ
p.86,v.9a-b	susaṃbhārā subhāvanaiva	susaṃstabdhā sūpāyā caiva

p.86,v.10,l.2	pratirūpadaśavāse	°deśavā°
p.87,v.11,l.4	sa ca	sā ca
v.12,l.1	sakleśa°	saṃkleśa°
v.12d	saṃvid dhīmatāṃ	saṃdhir dhīmatāṃ
p.87,v.13,l.2	bhavatī°	bhavantī°
p.88,v.21d	satpathā	sarvathā
p.90,l.2	śodhaneṣu yuktaḥ	°ne suyu°
p.90,v.2c	kalpa°	kalya°
v.2,l.1	ṛjjukaraṇa°	ṛjukaraṇa°
p.90,v.2,l.2	kalpa°	kalya°
p.91,l.10	śamalakṣagrahaṇa°	samalakṣaṇagra°
l.12	sārthatathā	°tayā
p.91 v.10a	śamaprāptaṃ	sama°
p.92 v.12c	ramaye°	damaye°
v.15b	praśrabdhiṃ	praśuddhiṃ
v.20a	kṛtsnādau svalpa°	kṛtsnadauṣṭhulya°
p.93,l.1	śaddher iti	śuddher i°
p.93,v.24a	dharmaloka°	dharmāloka°
v.25c	read nikṣepaḥ vi°	
p.96,ll.4-5	yaś cittapra°	yaś ca tat pra°
p.96,v.48a	acodya°	pracodya°
v.48b	°r dharmasukhe	°mukhe
p.98,v.4a	mahāśanād	°śane
p.98,v.5a	na karmiṇa	°rmiṇaḥ
p.99,l.3	nādāyatyād	°yątyāṃ (omit the footnote)
v.3,l.3	sanidānatayā	sanidānayā
l.4	dhyānaprajñābhyāsasa°	°jñābhyām asamāhita°
v.4,l.1	yathākrama	yathākramaṃ
v.5,l.1	bhogeṣv abhirati°	bhogeṣv anabhira°
l.3	dhyānaprajñāyāṃ	°prajñābhyāṃ
p.100,v.8,l.1	tātparyasya	mātsaryasya
p.101,v.14a	viśraya°	niśraya°
v.15d	paramātha°	paramārtha°
p.102,l.1	paramātha°	paramārtha°
l.21	boghisa°	°dhi°
l.30	artho	arthī
p.103,l.2	saṃboghau	°dhau
p.104,v.17-18,l.2	hatuḥ	hetuḥ
v.18b	°bhaye	°bhayaṃ
v.18c	dānam eva	dānam evaṃ
v.19a	ṣaḍaṅgaśama°	°ṅgaṃ śa°
p.105,l.1	°rbhotaṃ	°rbhītaṃ
v.21-22,l.3	remove the daṇḍa between punaḥ and śīla°	
v.23-24,l.1	°vyudāsātha	°vyudāsārthaṃ
p.106 v.27b	śamādhāna°	samā°

[p.106,] v.27-28,l.5	°nuttara-	°nuttaraṃ
l.6	unite prajñā and jīvakā°	
p.108,l.2 ??		
p.108 v.37,l.2	ekātmakaṃ	eṣām ekaṃ
p.109,v.41b	buddhaiḥ	buddheḥ
l.2	yad ajñeyaṃ	yad jñeyaṃ
p.111,v.51b	dīpair nunnaṃ	dīpaiś channaṃ?
p.112,l.9	°śrayādiparasamayo cāpadeśo	°paramatvato copadeśo
p.114,l.1	add karmabhedena after tatkāraṇabhedena	
v.67-68,l.1	read °prahāṇeṣu add dvayor akuśaladharmahānaye dvayoś ca	
l.5	’ntasyāśraya°	tasyāśraya°
p.115,v.69,l.5	add svaparārthaprakaraṇatvāc ca	
p.116,l.1	yathā	yathāyogaṃ
p.117,v.76c	abandhyaḥ	avandhyaḥ
l.3	[°bandhyo	°vandhyo]
v.79,l.1	°prayoga	°prayogaṃ
p.118 v.5,l.6	tathoktaiḥ	yatho°
??		
p.119,v.10,l.2	prayogād u°	prājñatvād u°
p.120,last line	hatoḥ	hetoḥ
p.121,v.17,ll.3-4	read dharmālambanā anālambanāś ca	
p.122,l.3	read yā maitrīniṣyandena kāyakarmaṇā vākkarmaṇā	
v.21,l.3	shift the daṇḍa in front of śrāvakādīnāṃ after the latter.	
p.123,l.2	niṣpanda°	niṣyanda°
v.26,l.7	[duḥkhadaurmana°]	duḥkhaṃ daurmana°
p.124,l.1	read [ity ete ca]	ity etena
v.29-30,l.2	duḥkhābhūtā	duḥkhābhibhūtā
l.4	anyatīrthyāḥ / mokṣa°	°tīrthyamokṣa°
v.31b	tāyaka°	tāpaka°(and delete the note)
p.125,l.1	[prati°]	’prati°
v.37b	[duḥkhcaryā sa°]	duṣkaracaryāsahiṣṇutā
p.126,v.39-40,l.2	mūlavṛkṣā	mūlam ity uktā
l.3	read tataś ca karuṇāto yad duḥkham u°	
p.127,v.44,l.1	[°gha]	°ghe
p.128,v.51,l.4	sukhābhave	sukhānubhave
p.129,v.53,l.2	vinā no	vinātmano
p.130,l.1	yas tvā	yas tvāṃ
v.59,l.1	paraṃ anupahṛtya [°vastu°]	param anapakṛtya °vasu°
p.131,v.66,l.2	satkriyā cā°	satkriyayā cā°
l.3	evaṃ satkāra°	evaṃ lābhasatkāra°
p.132,v.1,l.2	°buddhānaṃ / tadvihīna°	°buddhānaṃ yānaṃ / tad dhi hīnaṃ
v.1,l.4	leave two empty lines for a verse	
v.4c	mānaḥ	mānaiḥ
p.133,v.5c	śrāddhātmānuṣa°	śrāddhāmānuṣa°

p.134,v.10ab	niṣpanda°	niṣyanda°
v.13a	hriyo	hriyā
p.135,last line	read svārthataḥ / parārthataḥ / ta[t]tvārthataḥ	
p.136,v.22,l.1	upamātrayaṃ	upamātrayeṇākampanaṃ
p.138,v.32c and l.3	sābhilāṣasya	sābhilāpasya
l.3	jñānasya / pratyā°	jñānasyāpratyā°
p.139,v.36c	parijñānāc ca	parihārāc ca
p.140,v.40d	vīre	dhīre
v.41,l.2	nimittasamudā°	nimittāsa[mudā]°
p.142,v.49,l.6	read pradadhātīti / eṣāṃ pradadhāti ca / tatra pragṛhṇātīti prajñayā / pradadhātīti śamathena / samaprāptaś copekṣā°	
p.143,v.55	cātra	cāgraṃ
p.144,v.59,l.1	[kāryaṃ]	kāyaṃ
v.60,l.1	°samutpādanāt	°samutpāṭanāt
v.61d	vikalpena	vihāreṇa
p.145,l.2	add ca at the end of the line.	
v.63,l.3	[tenāprāpyaniṣṭhāyām adhiṣṭhānāt]	tenāprāpya niṣṭhām avicchedāt
v.64-65,l.2	[vyavasthānaṃ paricchedaḥ]	vyavasthānaparicchedaḥ
p.146,v.68,l.2	yāvata	yāvat
p.148,l.1	āyatyāṃ vābhi°	cābhi°
l.2	[samṛddhitā veditavyā]	samṛddhito veditavyaṃ
p.149,v.82-3,l.6	hetuta utpattiḥ	utpatteḥ
l.8	ādita iva°	evā°
l.9	°payuktahetu°	°bhuktahetu°
p.150,l.16	kasyacid asthānaṃ	kasyacid avasthānaṃ
l.20	°palakavat	
l.22	put daṇḍa after avadhāryate	°phalaka° °paṭṭaka°?
p.151,l.2	hetutaḥ /	hetuḥ /
l.8	[nāma rūpa°]	nāmarūpa°
v.86c	[cayāyārthā°]	cayāyārtha°
p.152,l.6	pratibimbānāṃ	°bimbākhyānāṃ (Tibetan; ms.)
p.153,v.89-91,l.11	follow the original reading of the MS: °parivāsataḥ	
p.154,l.22	pradīpād iva	°divat
p.154,v.93 and p.156,l.3	[vācyas]	’vācyaḥ
p.155,l.6 from the bottom	°labdhā	°bdho
penultimate line	na ca . . . saṃkleśo bhavituṃ	°kleśo na tathā bhāso (not clear)
p.155,last line	na caiṣa	sa caiṣa
p.157,l.7	aniṣṭaṃ ca / naiva	aniṣṭaṃ ca naiva /
l.18	[tatpratyayo]	tatpratyayo vā
p.159,l.15	°r anūtpādyā	°nutpādyā
p.160,l.2 ??	[yathāpūrvaṃ]	yathā pūrvaṃ
XIX,v.2	[gataṃ]	mataṃ

p.161,v.5-7,l.3	[°tyantaṃ ca pāramitāsu]	°tyantaṃ ca / pāramitāsu
p.162,v.10-11,l.3	[pañcaḅodhisatva°]	pañca bodhisa[t]tva°
v.12-13,l.5	°saṃvedanā	°saṃvedanāt
p.163,v.17a,	read with the ms.	akheditvābhinnād api
v.21,l.1	insert °cāryaḥ (after karmaṇā)	
p.165,l.1	°trāsayoge	°sahānau
v.28-29,l.1	vipāko	°pāke
v.32a	pravāraṇā	pratāraṇā
[v.32-33,l.1	pravāraṇā°	pratāraṇā°]
p.167,v.43c?	jñayaṃ	jñeyaṃ
p. 168,l.4	add viśuddhitathatāṃ	
l.11	[kasmāt / yoniśo°]	kasmād yoniśo°
l.13	hīnāṃ	hīnā
v.47,l.5	°parihāra°	°parijñāna°
p.169,v.49,l.2	yatra	atra
v.50,l.3	[°dhigamo nālambanī°]	°dhigamo ’nālambanī°
l.6	[yathātatvaṃ]	yathā ta[t]tvaṃ
v.51,l.1	[yathāsvabhāva°]	yathā svabhāva°
p.170 v.55,l.1	[°pāye yathā°]	°pāyayathā°
	[lokārtho]	loko ’rtho
v.57c	°sa[t]tvasya	°cittasya
p.171,v.61-62,l.2	°pratiṣṭhasya	praviṣṭasya
v.62d	darśanāt	darśanā
p.173,v.69a	[dharme rato ’dharmarataḥ]	dharme ’rato dharmarataḥ
p.174,v.74a	paramāścaryaḥ	paramaś cāryaḥ
p.175,l.2	°bodhi°	°bodha°
p.176,v.6,ll.1-2	[sukhādyāśayaḥ / paratreṣṭa°]	sukhādyāśayaḥ paratreṣṭa°
	[°chā hitādhyā°]	°chā / hitādhyā°
	[vṛttī[c]chā nirvā°]	vṛttīcchā / nirvā°
p.177,v.8,l.5	triṃśat ślokāḥ	uddānaślokaḥ
p.178,l.6	lakṣaṇāṃ	°kṣaṇaṃ
ll.6-7	bhūmiṣṭhe ca	bhūmiṣv eva
v.17b	’nuśikṣaṇe	°kṣaṇā
p.180,l.9	pratiṣṭhasya	praviṣṭa°
v.27-28,l.6	°nupalambhas tasya	°nupalambhasya
p.181,v.30,l.7	sadāśubhakaratve	°ratvaṃ
p.182,v.35,l.1	shift the daṇḍa in front of sa[t]tva°	in front of tac co°
	°bhayaṃ	°bhaya-
v.37a-b,l.1	°payanta°	°paryanta°
p.183,v.38,l.1	°sthālīya°	°sthānīya°
v.41a	bhūmilābhe	°lābho
p.185,l.2	nānābhogān praṇi°	nānābhogenāpraṇidhāya
p.186,l.3	pariśaddhi	°śuddhi
p.188,v.59,l.4	°lpāvaraṇamātrā°	°lpāvaramātrā°

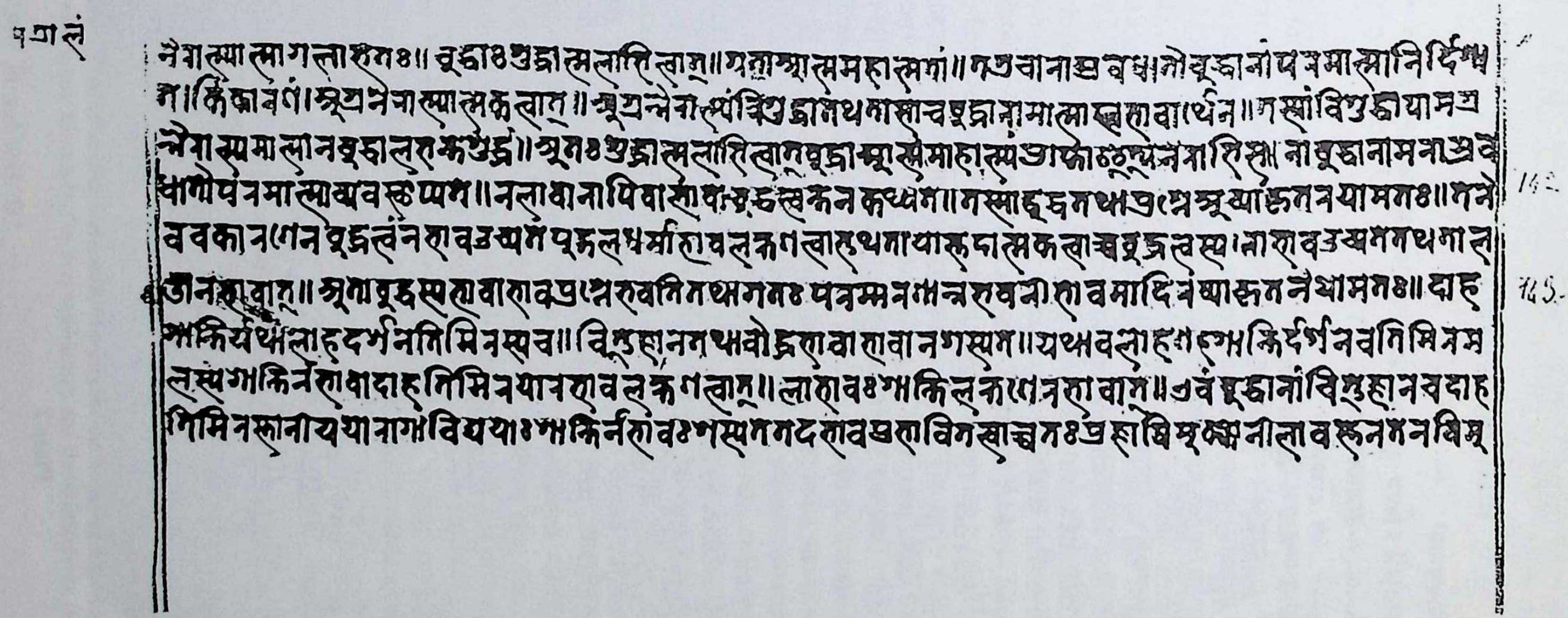
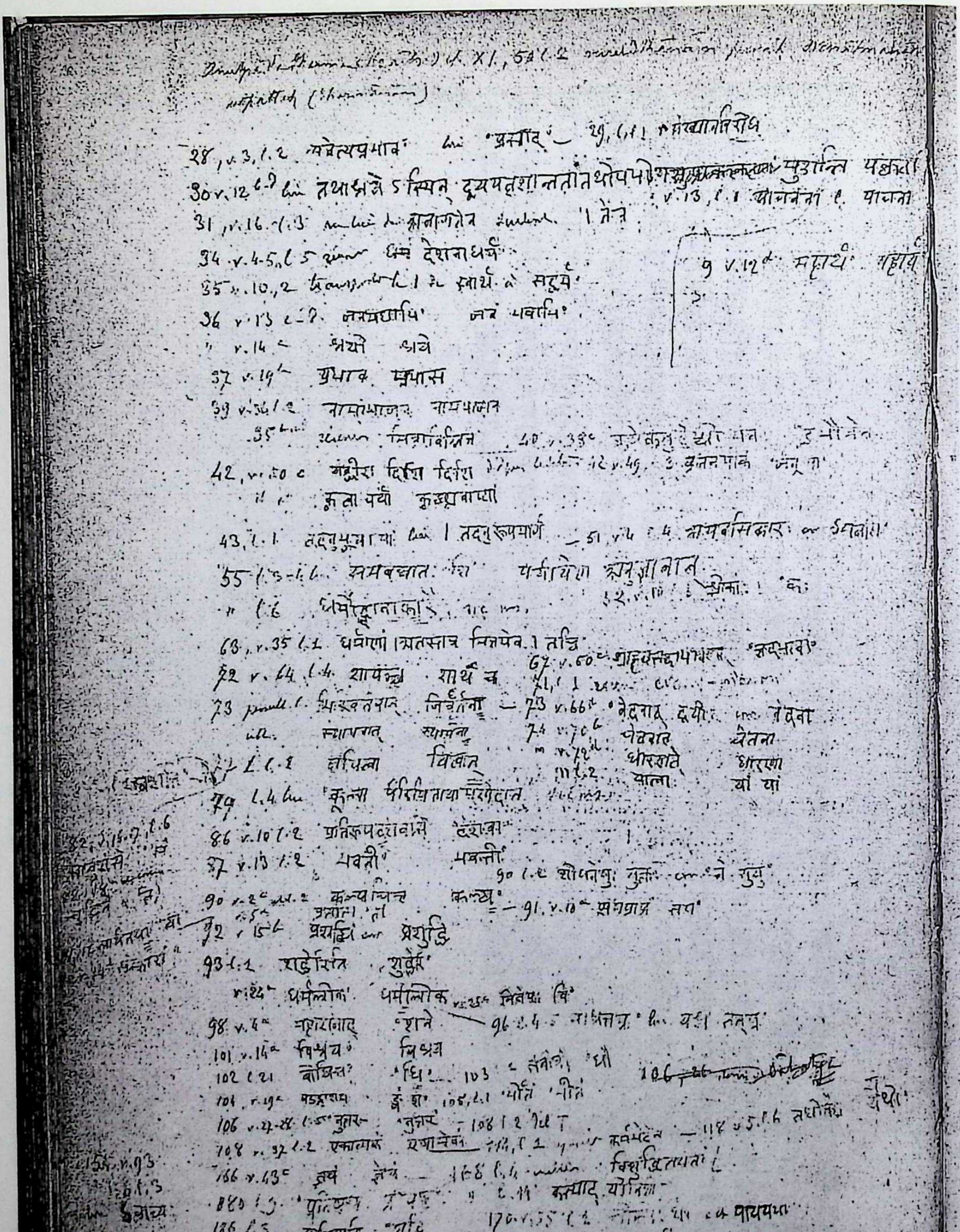


Plate 1



[illegible] XI, 5[illegible] l. 2 [illegible]

[illegible] ([illegible])

28, v. 3, l. 2 °त्प्रभाव: [illegible] °प्रसाद्° — 29, l. 1 °संख्यानिरोध

30 v. 12 [illegible] तथाऽस्मिन् दूयपनुशान्ततांतथोपपोश[illegible] पुनन्ति पङ्क्ता

v. 13, l. 1 [illegible] l. पाचना

31, v. 16, l. 3 [illegible] क्रानागतेन [illegible] । तेन

34 v. 4-5, l. 5 [illegible] देशनाधर्मं

35 v. 10, 2 [illegible] l. 1 [illegible] स्वार्थं [illegible] सद्धर्मं

9 v. 12 महार्थं महार्थ

36 v. 13 l. 2 [illegible] [illegible]

" v. 14 श्रयो [illegible]

37 v. 19 प्रभाव प्रभास

39 v. 36 l. 2 नामांभाजन नामभाजन

35 [illegible] निश्चारितजन — 40, v. 38 [illegible] [illegible]

42, v. 50 c मंद्धीरा दिशि दिशि [illegible] 42 v. 49, 3 कृतनपाक [illegible]

" " कुला पर्यो कुलपरम्परा

43, l. 1 तदनुपुत्ता [illegible] । तदनुरूपमार्ग — 51, v. 4, l. 4 [illegible] [illegible]

55 l. 3-l. 6 समवधात: [illegible] पर्यायेण अनुज्ञानीत

" l. 6 धर्मोद्भाताका [illegible] 52, v. 10 [illegible] [illegible]

68, v. 35 l. 1 धर्माणां । अतस्तत्र निजपेव । तद्धि

67 v. 60 [illegible] [illegible]

72 v. 64 l. 4 शापञ्च शार्थं च

71, l. 1 [illegible]

73 [illegible] l. [illegible] जिवर्तना — 73 v. 66 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] स्यातना — 74 v. 70 [illegible] चेतना

[illegible] l. 2 [illegible] विवात — " v. 72 धारयते धारणा

111 l. 2 [illegible] यां यां

79 l. 4 [illegible] कृत्स्ना [illegible]

82, v. 15-7, l. 6 [illegible]

86 v. 10 l. 2 प्रतिरूपकरावासे [illegible]

87 v. 13 l. 2 भवती भवन्ती

90 l. 2 शोधनेषु: [illegible] [illegible]

90 v. 2 [illegible] कल्पाच्चित्त कल्प्य° — 91. v. 10 [illegible] [illegible]

v. 5 [illegible]

92 v. 15 प्रशुद्धि [illegible] प्रशुद्धि

93 l. 2 शाढ्डेर्सित शुद्धेर्

v. 24 धर्मलोक धर्मालोक v. 25 [illegible]

98 v. 4 [illegible] [illegible] — 96 l. 4-5 [illegible] [illegible] तत्र

101 v. 14 [illegible] [illegible]

102 l. 21 [illegible] [illegible] 103 [illegible] [illegible] ~~106 [illegible]~~

104 v. 19 [illegible] [illegible] 105, l. 1 [illegible] [illegible]

106 v. 27-28 l. 5 [illegible] [illegible] — 108 l. 2 [illegible] — 118 v. 5, l. 6 [illegible]

108 v. 37 l. 2 एकान्यत्व [illegible] — 112, l. 1 [illegible] — [illegible]

155 v. 93

166 v. 43 [illegible] [illegible] — 168 l. 4 [illegible] विशुद्धितयातां

1[illegible] l. 3

180 l. 3 [illegible] [illegible] " l. 11 कल्याद् [illegible]

186 l. 3 [illegible] [illegible] 170 v. 55 l. 2 [illegible] पापयथा

v. 57 [illegible] [illegible]

175, l. 8 [illegible] [illegible]

Plate 2

Prof. Madhav Prasad Lamichhane Collection, Kathmandu, Nepal

Śāntikarā's Nāgasādhana in the Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa A Medieval Legend of a Rain Charm in the Nepal Valley

HORST BRINKHAUS

Introduction

The quest for rain and particularly for the annual monsoon rain surely is a central concern and incessant preoccupation of the inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley. Accordingly, Hindus and Buddhists together celebrate every year a sumptuous chariot festival of Rāto Matsyendranāth alias Lokeśvara as a large-scale rain charm, "an annual event of national concern, which royalty attends."[1] This procession (*yātrā*) has a long tradition, since it was already mentioned in the Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī, from the end of the 14th century, where it is linked with the Licchavi king Narendradeva and the Buddhist ācārya Bandhudatta.[2] In the basic legend, which we mainly know from relatively young chronicles and similar documents of the last two centuries,[3] King Narendradeva is regularly introduced as the son of Guṇakāmadeva, and Ācārya Bandhudatta as the pupil of Ācārya Śāntikara. Guṇakāmadeva and Śāntikara, however, belong to another legend involving a rain charm, which in the past must have competed with the legend mentioned above. The story with the pair Guṇakāmadeva and Śāntikarācārya, the latter of whom lived in Śāntipura close to the Svayaṃbhūcaitya, was associated with the territory of Kathmandu, while the other legend, featuring Narendradeva and Bandhudattācārya, had its roots in a small village by the name of Bungamati, which belongs to the Patan area. In earlier times both religious places seem to have been important centres of medieval Newar Buddhism,[4] and possibly already at that time there was a similar competitive relationship between the two areas as is noticeable today between the Vajrācāryas of Patan and of Kathmandu: according to an inquiry by Locke, the Vajrācāryas of Kathmandu tend to see Śāntipura as the centre of Vajrācāryas both of Kathmandu and of Patan, whereas Patan Vajrācāryas plainly deny any connection with Śāntipura.[5] This more or less open rivalry may have a long history, and may have found expression in the past in the two different rain charm stories competing with each other. Significantly, the combination of the two stories mentioned above into the modern version of the Lokeśvara legend of Patan is documented in the older related literature catering for the other side, namely in the Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa, a medieval work of Newar Buddhism essentially dedicated to the area of Svayaṃbhūnāth. Though the connection of the two concurrent rain charm stories is relatively loose there (as will be shown in what follows), it still suggests that this connection was originally drawn for inclusivistic motives by the Kathmandu side. Thus the same patterns are mirrored for the past as are still smouldering in the internal contest between the two neighbouring Buddhist communities of the present.

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[1] See Slusser 1982: 373-376; for detailed studies of the whole tradition cf. Locke 1973 and 1980.

[2] Vajrācārya / Malla 1985: Fol. 23ka, line 1.

[3] Locke 1973: 41-57.

[4] For example, the Khasa king Jitārimalla, who invaded the Valley in A.D. 1294 and burned down many villages, afterwards went to pay his respects to Svayaṃbhūnātha and Buṅmalokeśvara (Petech 1984: 102).

[5] Locke 1980: 30, and 1985: 257.

Today Śāntipura is an unpretentious site at the north end of the hilltop platform of Svayaṃbhūnāth,[6] but in the past it had an important status in the history of Newar Buddhism as the centre of the overall association of the Ācārya Guṭhī of Kathmandu.[7] The tantric shrine of Śāntipura is reputed to house mysterious magic, and the inner part of its main building is constantly kept closed. To enter it is said to be highly dangerous. Only the entrance hall is open to the public, but remains in constant semi-darkness. The sombre walls to the left and right of the bolted main door leading to the inner part are painted with illustrations of scenes taken from the Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa. Just outside the outer door, there is a stone slab with an inscription. This latter contains an account of the Kathmandu king Pratāpamalla who ventured to enter into the inner part in 1657 A.D., when there was a serious drought in the Valley. We are told that he found there what he was looking for, namely a scroll, painted with the blood of nine Nāgas, locked up in a copper cylinder. He displayed the scroll to the light of day, which finally brought the desired heavy rainfall. The same historical event is once more described in a painting that today belongs to a private collection. According to this source, however, Pratāpamalla came not only upon the scroll in the inner rooms of Śāntipura, but also upon the initiator of that scroll, Ācārya Śāntikara, or rather his relics.[8] It was in honour of this venerable Vajrācārya that the site, the name of which originally had been Ākāśapura,[9] has been renamed Śāntipura. Śāntikara became a legendary figure, heralded among Newars for a special deed, a successful rain-making ceremony with the help of the Nāga rain deities during a drought and famine in the reign of the ancient king Guṇakāmadeva. This legend is included in the same Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa mentioned above as the textual basis for the mural paintings in the entrance hall of Śāntipura.

The Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa

The Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa (SvP) has been handed down in various and in some cases quite different textual versions.[10] The work as a whole is dedicated to a large extent to the glorification and cult of important Buddhist shrines in the Kathmandu Valley, above all, as the title says, the Svayaṃbhūcaitya and its direct surroundings. Concerning the extent of the text, there are enormous differences among the various versions: they extend from only 280 ślokas in the shortest version up to the longest text of more than 4,600 ślokas. Nevertheless, these texts can be subsumed under one title, for they all present roughly one and the same set and sequence of legends or themes. As I have treated the different versions and the contents they have in common at length elsewhere,[11] a brief enumeration of the main Sanskrit[12] versions known to me will suffice here:

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[6] A picture of the inconspicuous main building of Śāntipura is presented in Śākya 1098 (N.S.), beside p. 572.

[7] Locke 1985: 255f.

[8] Vajrācārya 1965: 33-41, and Slusser 1982: Vol. 1, 355, Vol. 2, pls. 67 and 574-575.

[9] Ākāśapura belongs to a group of five special shrines dedicated to the five elements.

[10] Strictly speaking these versions were handed down under different titles, the title Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa appearing only relatively late in the textual development of these texts (see Brinkhaus 1993: 66), but this designation is generally used among Newar Buddhists and scholars as a kind of subsuming title.

-- 8P(PV) = a short prose version in 8 paricchedas comprising about 410 ślokas;[13]

-- 8P(VV) = the shortest verse version in 8 paricchedas comprising 280 ślokas;

-- 10A = a different verse version in 10 adhyāyas comprising 1,750 ślokas;

-- 12A = another restructured verse version in 12 adhyāyas comprising 3,600 ślokas;

-- 8A = a considerably extended version of 8P(VV) in 8 adhyāyas comprising about 4,100 ślokas;

-- 8A+ = an extended version of 8A with about 500 additional ślokas.

Among these different versions only the longest one has been completely edited up to now, namely the version 8A+.[14] This edition, however, has been strongly criticized by various scholars for its carelessness "to the point of malice."[15] Beyond that edition, the only other material published so far has been two single chapters of version 12A,[16] but among them is the tenth adhyāya which contains the Śāntikara episode to be treated in the present paper. All other text versions are known to me only in the form of manuscripts filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP).[17]

One very special problem about the SvP is the dating of its different versions. There are only very few concrete clues for determining in terms of an absolute chronology. Roughly speaking, the older versions seem to have originated in the first half of the last millennium.[18] There is nothing I have observed concerning the SvP which would contradict this approximate dating, and we have to content ourselves with it for the time being. What seems to be more important for the present concern is the relative chronology of the different versions of that work. In my article on the SvP mentioned above, I tried to form a preliminary idea about this chronology, which I am forced to correct now slightly after a detailed examination and comparison of at least one chapter, the Śāntikara episode. In order to facilitate orientation during the following considerations, a synoptical table of textual stages of development may be useful, although, of course, it is the result and not the presupposition of my comparative studies on the Śāntikara legend:

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[11] Brinkhaus 1993.

[12] A Newari version in 10 adhyāyas has also been handed down, but I do not take it into account in the present paper.

[13] "Śloka" is used here as a term for a text unit of 32 syllables.

[14] Śāstrī 1894-1900.

[15] Cf. Kölver 1999: 211.

[16] Adhyāya 4 in Handurukande 1967: 147-188, and adhyāya 10 in La Vallée Poussin 1893.

[17] For detailed references see Brinkhaus 1993: 66.

[18] For a recent and very careful treatment of this question see von Rospatt 1999: 141-143.

-- The oldest version seems to be the single prose version 8P(PV), especially in the reading of the only palm-leaf manuscript known to me of all SvP versions.[19]
-- 8P(VV) is very near to the prose version, and seems to be a direct versification of it with only very scarce deviations concerning the contents.
-- 10A is clearly based on 8P and seems to be a second and independently composed versification of the prose version, this time, however, considerably enlarged and with substantial accentuations on specific aspects of the text.
-- 12A is again a reshaping of the text of the SvP—one that, on the one hand, remains particularly indebted to 10A, with which it shares a number of exclusive common features, while, on the other, offering quite a bit of supplementary material and clarification.
-- Finally, 8A is an extremely enlarged version of 8P(VV) in which the latter is almost completely included, and 8A+ is again a further enlarged version of 8A. There is no doubt about the relative chronology of these three text versions to each other. There is also no doubt that the enlargements of 8A+ are partly copied from 10A, while 8A seems in at least one passage to be based on a parallel passage of 12A. Thus it would appear that 8A and 8A+, in the shape handed down to us, were later products of the textual development of the SvP than 10A and 12A.

More detailed particulars on which these text historical results are based will be given, along with references, in the following chapters dealing specifically with the Śāntikara portions of the SvP versions.

The main contents of the core of the SvP is the origin and development of the Svayaṃbhūcaitya. We are told how in the age of Vipaśvin the sanctuary originally appeared as a manifestation of the Dharmadhātu, how in the age of Viśvabhū the shrine was made accessible to worshippers by Mañjuśrī, who drained the lake which had filled the Nepal Valley, and how in the later age of Kāśyapa the sanctuary had to be protected by a caitya vault constructed by the Gauḍa king Pracaṇḍadeva, who had come to Nepal where he became a Vajrācārya under the name of Śāntaśrī. This Vajrācārya also founded the Five Mansions (*pañcapura*) in the direct neighbourhood of the Svayaṃbhūcaitya, among them Ākāśapura, which later on was renamed Śāntipura in honour of Ācārya Śāntikara, whose great deed is told in the last part of the SvP as the main local event of the present age, namely the age of the Śākyamuni. Śāntikara's chief contribution for the welfare of the Nepal Valley was to provide a means to counteract drought.

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[19] It was filmed by the NGMPP under E 1134/2 and may, according to the judgement of Nepalese specialists for palaeography, well belong to the 14th century A.D. (oral communication by Kamal P. Malla).

The extent of the Śāntikara narrative varies rather markedly in rough correspondence to the total size of the SvP text versions themselves. The prose version in chapter VIII of 8P(PV), with its more than 42 śloka units, is a bit longer than its direct versification in VIII,1-35 of 8P(VV); the second versification in the two chapters VIII-IX of 10A shoots up to 314 ślokas, though the corresponding adhyāya X of 12A contains only 212 ślokas; finally, the longest versions are found in chapter VIII of 8A (450 ślokas) and 8A+ (150 additional ślokas, i.e. with a total of 600 ślokas).[20]

In the following sections, I shall treat these various versions of the Śāntikara episode one by one, starting with the shortest and ending with the longest text - roughly the order of their relative chronology. Thus the different versions are taken as stages in the developmental process of the textual history of the Śāntikara legend.

The Shortest Version of the Śāntikara Legend

Probably the oldest document of the SvP is the palm-leaf manuscript already mentioned in connection with the prose version of 8P. The text of this manuscript is a bit shorter and likely represents the older textual stage in comparison with the prose version of the other manuscripts (on Nepālī paper) known to me. The text version of the paper manuscripts is, as far as the contents is concerned, as good as identical with the verse version of 8P. The Śāntikara episode is presented in these text versions as follows:[21]

The Śākyamuni describes to Maitreya the general welfare of the Nepal Valley in the present age (VIII,1-2). Once, however, there was a drought and famine of seven years during the reign of King Guṇakāmadeva, who severely blamed himself for not having been able to preserve his subjects from this calamity (3-5). In deep distress he went to Śāntipura and asked the Vajrācārya Śāntikara for help (6-8). The Ācārya immediately started making preparations for a rain-making ceremony (*sādhana*), for which purpose he invoked the main serpent-demons (*nāga*) (9-11). All the Nāgas immediately appeared, with the exception of Karkoṭaka, who resisted the call because he was ashamed of his own ugliness (12). Śāntikara sent the king, his assistant in the Nāgasādhana, to Ādhāra Lake, where Karkoṭaka was living,[22] in order to fetch him—if necessary, by force (13-20). And indeed, Karkoṭaka could not be persuaded by the king, and therefore had to be abducted (21-22).[23] When, finally, all the relevant Nāgas were assembled, the sādhana could be celebrated—with the prompt result of heavy rainfall (23-25). Before the Nāgas were allowed to leave the place again, they were painted on a piece of cloth (*paṭa*) which afterwards was deposited in Nāgapura in order to be close at hand in case of future droughts in the Valley (26).

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[20] For the numbering of the three versions 8P(VV), 8A and 8A+ see the concordance given at the end of this paper. As for 10A, I follow the numbering (VIII,1-228 and IX,1-82) of a draft version for a text edition prepared by K. P. Malla, this version refers to the oldest dated manuscript filmed by the NGMPP (under A 923/3); and in case of 12A, I follow the numbering (X,1-212) of La Vallée Poussin 1893.

[21] In the following summary, the numbering of the 35 ślokas of the verse version is added in parentheses.

[22] According to III,16-17 of 8P(VV) this lake had been given to Karkoṭaka as a place to live by Mañjuśrī after the latter had drained the *nāgahrada* which formerly had filled the whole of the Nepal Valley.

[23] According to the palm-leaf manuscript Karkoṭaka was abducted via the "vāsukipātha," which is said to be known under this name till today, whereas already the paper manuscripts of the same text as well as all other SvP versions have the lectio facilior "vaśikācala" instead.

From that time onwards Nepal has again been a flourishing country (27). Also King Narendradeva (he is called Guṇakāmadeva's son in all versions but the palm-leaf manuscript of the prose text) became an adherent of Śāntikara, and so a Buddhist (28-30). With Narendradeva successfully reigning over his country (31), Śāntikara could devote his time to meditations (*samādhi*) in a cave (*gartā*) underneath Śāntipura (32-33). Later on, the text conclusively remarks, he would rise out of that meditation and preach Buddhism in Nepal anew (34-35).

In accordance with the main theme of the SvP, namely the glorification of selected Buddhist sites related to the Svayaṃbhū sanctuary, the purpose of the present story is to explain the name of Śāntipura as the abode of the prominent Vajrācārya Śāntikara, who is described as a most effective protector of the welfare of the country thanks to his magic rituals. In addition, the name of the neighbouring Nāgapura, originally dedicated to the element water, is interpreted as the place where—probably in reality at the time of the formation of that story—such a *paṭa* with painted snakes on it was deposited to be used in case of emergency for rain-making ceremonies. In contrast to other SvP versions still to be treated, Guṇakāmadeva is described here as a good and scrupulous king. There is no special reason mentioned for the drought, and this natural disaster is promptly ended by a mere ceremony, performed by a magically powerful Vajrācārya and assisted by the king himself.

In the shortest prose version of the palm-leaf manuscript, it is mentioned afterwards that King Narendradeva became a pupil of Śāntikara and a follower of Buddhism. There is no concrete indication in the text who exactly this Narendradeva was. Thus it is not impossible, though not provable, that he is meant here to portray the other legendary king known to have founded an important tradition of relieving drought and famine in the country. In the later version of this prose text and in the verse version of 8P, Narendradeva is declared to have been the son and direct successor to the throne of Guṇakāmadeva. This corresponds to the descent attributed to Narendradeva in the legend of Lokeśvara of Bungamati, which therefore may well have been drawn from the present legend of the SvP.

Version 10A

There are good reasons to believe that the 10A version of the SvP is directly based on the prose version of 8P, even though the verse version of 8P must have been known to the author(s) of 10A.[24] Thus 10A may be seen as a second and on the whole independent versification alongside the verse version of 8P. Another main difference besides the new formulation of the text is the fact that 10A does not adhere as strictly to the contents of its model as had been done in 8P(VV). In fact, one main reason for the new versification of the SvP may have been the intention of the author(s) to supplement the given set of stories with some new ideas, which again and again appear in 10A interspersed in different contexts. In fact, these innovative elements may be seen as the main motive for having reformulated and considerably enlarged the text of the SvP.

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[24] There are several minor correspondences between 10A and 8P(PV) which are not shared by 8P(VV). On the other hand, in our Śāntikara passage, 10A and 8P(VV) have one whole verse in common (8P(VV) VIII,22 = 10A VIII,189). Remarkably enough, in this verse "vāsukipātha" of the oldest prose version was changed into "vaśikācala" (see above, n. 23)—a seemingly deliberate digression from the normal redactional practice in 10A.

Among the new ideas interspersed in 10A, two are particularly conspicuous:
-- There is a certain set of tīrthas, dedicated to a very peculiar group of deities, which appears about twenty times in the whole of the work, and five times in our Śāntikara episode.[25] A pilgrimage to these specific tīrthas is there extolled as being highly salutary. The specific deities of this group are the eight Vītarāgas,[26] Guhyeśvarī, who is regularly called there *khagānanā devī* ('the bird-faced goddess'), the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, the deities of the Five Mansions (*pañcapura*) next to the Svayaṃbhūcaitya, and Svayaṃbhū himself, normally represented there as the manifestation of the Dharmadhātu. All these deities had already been treated in 8P, but only separately and not as members of such a specific group—the particular view emphasized in 10A.
-- Another innovation that pervades the whole text of 10A is the almost ubiquitous mention of a specific observance called *bodhicaryāvrata* or *saṃbodhivrata*. This evidently correlated with a particularly high estimation of the Bodhisattva ideal. What is of interest in our present context: In adhyāya VII the Gauḍa king Pracaṇḍadeva is described as being devoted to this vrata and so to have become the Bodhisattva Śāntaśrī.[27] He is the one who came to Nepal and founded the Svayaṃbhūcaitya along with the Five Mansions (*pañcapura*), and in 10A he is identified with our Śāntikara. With reference to the Bodhisattva ideal, Śāntaśrī *alias* Śāntikara is said to have deferred Nirvāṇa in order to aid others in its attainment.[28] Earlier he had strongly recommended the Bodhimārga to King Guṇakāmadeva, who is said to have finally reached Sukhāvatī (IX,44). Guṇakāmadeva's son Narendradeva also keeps the Bodhicaryāvrata, and by thus following the Bodhimārga he, too, becomes a Bodhisattva (IX, 64-66).

Besides these more general innovations, there are other new features which are confined to our Śāntikara legend:
-- Most important is the previously mentioned identification of Śāntikara and Śāntaśrī. In 8P they were two totally separate persons, and the change in 10A is explicitly announced and amply explained in IX,2-24, according to which passage Śāntaśrī obtained the second name of Śāntikara for having put an end to the great calamity (*mahotpātapraśāntikṛt*).

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[25] In VIII,103-107; 133-137; IX,9-15; 49-56; 61-62.

[26] According to the description elsewhere in 8P (see (VV) IV,21-24 and the parallel passage in the PV) they seem to go back to eight important Śivaliṅgas in the Nepal Valley!

[27] Cf. IX,18-21.

[28] IX,25-34; 66-69; 82.

-- In deviation from the older version, Guṇakāmadeva is now described as a vicious king who true to his nature corrupts his subjects to the point where the gods finally get angry and send the disaster as a punishment (VIII,17-51).
-- Accordingly, Guṇakāmadeva no longer feels pity for his subjects, but instead primarily bemoans his own bad luck (VIII,52-64).
-- In consequence of these changes, and in a long interpolation (VIII,83-146), Śāntaśrī first of all reproaches the king for his bad policy and especially refers to the debased families in his kingdom. Therefore, before a rain-making ceremony can promise any results, a general change of mind, a revival of morality and piety is called for. Śāntaśrī's advice is to first go on a pilgrimage to the specific tīrthas named above and to observe the Bodhicaryāvrata. Afterwards Guṇakāmadeva and his subjects are said to have followed this advice with limited success, before the narrator again picks up the thread of the older story where the performance of the Nāgasādhana is reported.
-- The Nāgasādhana, finally, is no longer celebrated in Śāntipura, but immediately in Nāgapura (VIII,190), and a *maṇḍalapaṭṭa* on which the snakes are supposed to take their places during the ceremony is now already used in the original ritual rather than being prepared afterwards for similar future events (VIII,209-214).

The most important of the changes and additions just enumerated have as an effect, in common, that the present legend is more firmly embedded in the whole work, and thus they make it better conform to the basic intentions of the SvP. The pivotal purpose of the SvP, which was seen already by Sylvain Lévi as a Buddhist "Māhātmya,"[29] is to explain and glorify the spiritual relevance of Buddhist shrines as specific power places in the Nepal Valley, all of them centred around the holy ground of the Svayaṃbhūcaitya. Thanks to the identification of Śāntikara with Śāntaśrī, the founder of the Svayaṃbhūcaitya and the Five Mansions, the legends of Śāntipura and Nāgapura become more closely linked with that centre. The kind of spiritual practice the SvP generally focuses upon is "pilgrim piety"—here a specific set of tīrthas the visitation of which is again and again recommended, particularly in cases of emergency.

Another double aspect to be observed in 10A is also of special interest. On the one hand, we can discern a tendency throughout this version to give the SvP a particular bias towards Mahāyāna Buddhism and the latter's basic Bodhisattva ideal. On the other hand, there is the general dedication of the SvP, as a work of the specific literary genre of the Māhātmya, to what has been called "pilgrim piety," and this in itself suggests a certain approach, and to a certain extent even an imitation of a Hindu pattern of thought and spiritual practice. This impression is further augmented by the obvious borrowing of terms specifically associated with Hindu contexts, as when corruption in the country is ascribed to the circumstance that the Kaliyuga has come and started to affect the moral climate,[30] or when Guṇakāmadeva at the end, after his abdication, is said to lead the life of a *vanaprastha* (IX,42).

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[29] Lévi 1905-1908: Vol. 1, 209f.

[30] Explicitly named in VIII,33; 34; 52; 61; cf. also the description of the times in 20-33.

Version 12A

The SvP version 12A seems to be a text newly created on the basis of 10A. On the one hand, there are many exclusive correspondences between 12A and 10A, but, on the other, 12A regularly expands on the text and contents of 10A, plausible explanations being added for situations which are barely limned or only insinuated in 10A.

As far as our legend is concerned, the more important exclusive elements which both versions have in common—a fact hinting at a close relationship between the two—are the following:
-- First of all, Śāntaśrī again is the hero of the episode, and it is similarly reported at the end of the story that he has been given the second name Śāntikara (X,199).
-- Guṇakāmadeva is here again characterized as a corrupt king, and we are told that the gods have sent the disaster as a reaction to the moral decadence in his kingdom.[31]
-- Śāntaśrī advises the king and his subjects to go on a pilgrimage first (69-79), and only afterwards is he willing to perform the rain charm. Again it is the same group of tīrthas mentioned above for 10A which is named in the present version (four times),[32] and in one of these cases it is even Śāntaśrī himself who goes on the same tīrthayātrā just before he devotes himself to *samādhi* at the end of the story (208).
-- As in 10A, Śāntaśrī is said to renounce his claim to Nirvāṇa; thus again the Bodhisattva ideal is emphasized.[33] The motivation, however, is different in the two versions: in 10A it is said that Śāntaśrī will preach the *saddharma* in future when people will have become *saddharmahīna* (IX,71), while in 12A he is simply willing to help the future people because of the very difficult Kaliyuga (203).

Besides the smaller changes in 12A in comparison with 10A already mentioned, 12A has quite a number of further innovations, among which the following are the more important ones:
-- Whereas in 10A the vicious king Guṇakāmadeva was finally forced to learn the reasons for the calamity and to find a way out by himself, in 12A there is an extensive interpolation in which a minister's daughter, who had been abducted by the king, undeceived him and advised him to consult Śāntaśrī (27-47).
-- Śāntaśrī for his part advises the king and his subjects not only to turn back to Buddhism and honour the specific group of deities by going on a pilgrimage, but to do this with *bhakti*, a term which is used here several times,[34] having obviously been taken from Hinduism.
-- After the pilgrimage the nāgasādhana at first is hindered by the absence of Karkoṭaka. This was also the case in the former versions, but this time another reason is given for it: whereas in all other versions Karkoṭaka does not turn up out of shame because of his own ugliness,

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[31] 3-21; there are even verbal similarities with 10A here: cf. 3-5 with VIII,16-18 of 10A.

[32] 23-24; 78-79; 81-82; 208.

[33] With even a word-for-word correspondence between 200 and IX,67 of 10A.

[34] *bhakti* appears in 71; 74; 76; 77; 170· 187; 188; 189; 212; and *bhakta* as a corresponding term in 60.

in 12A he is offended because he was left out during the preceding tīrthayātrā by the king (90-99).
-- When Guṇakāmadeva attempts to persuade Karkoṭaka to come to the nāgasādhana he uses a new and stronger argument: he reminds him that in former time Mañjuśrī had appointed him patron of their common country (139).
-- When Karkoṭaka offers no comment to all this, it is a Nāginī who explains that Mañjuśrī had also recommended him to become a *muni*, i. e. to take the vow of silence, though afterwards she herself tries to convince him to follow Śāntaśrī's call (143-150).
-- Śāntaśrī once again refers to Mañjuśrī, who is said to have formerly appointed the Nāgas to ensure regular rain in Nepal. He argues that rain leads to happiness, and this in turn to *bhakti* etc. (169-170).
-- Finally, another typical innovation in 12A is the notion that the painting of the Nāgas which is supposed to be prepared for future emergencies was executed with the blood of the snakes themselves.[35] This is mentioned neither in 8P nor in 10A, though it is, of course, a plausible explanation for the magic power of this specific painting.

According to what has been said up till now (the list could be easily enhanced), the direction of development from 10A to 12A seems to be the more probable. The motivation for the majority of changes in the new version 12A have become apparent: the author(s) of 12A wanted to clarify the text by changes and additions, particularly where 10A seemed to be too concise or unclear. In addition, another characteristic of 12A may be mentioned, which is conspicuous if one compares this version with the older versions treated before. The narrative style of these latter is relatively straightforward and terse—particularly so in the very concise versions of 8P, but still to a certain extent even in the more elaborate version 10A, the enlargements of which were directed more to didactic and less to stylistic ends. In comparison with these versions the author(s) of 12A seem(s) to be more interested in the action displayed and the stylistic aspects of its literary formation. Again and again poetical figures, particularly similes and metaphors, are interspersed throughout the text, as are proverbial sayings.[36] These clearly indicate an impulse on the part of the author(s) to repolish the SvP text into a more elegant piece of writing.

Version 8A

The third greatly enlarged version of our SvP legend is the version 8A, which is considerably longer than 10A and 12A. In contrast to these, however, the text is not totally reformulated; rather, almost the whole text, namely 33½ of the 35 ślokas of the verse version of 8P, reappear interspersed in the 450 ślokas of 8A. Thus 8A can be regarded as a mere, albeit huge, extension of 8P(VV).[37] One motive for these textual enlargements may plainly be seen in the situation: the very short version of 8P existed side by side with two new and much longer concurrent versions of the SvP; supporters of the short version felt compelled to extend it, too. At least this is the impression one gets from the many portions of 8A which appear as mere doubling of the basic text version—in other words, as more or less hypertrophic growth of the textual material without any illuminating advantage accruing to the contents or stylistic features of the basic text whatsoever.[38] This does not mean, however, that there are not also textual additions in 8A which do function as sensible innovations and the heightening of content.

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[35] 174-179; no harm, be it said, is done to the snakes, since they deliberately donate their blood for the painting.

[36] Proverbs are found, among other places, in 8; 12; 33; 39; 120; 171.

[37] A concordance of 8P(VV) and 8A, with the further inclusion of 8A+, is given below in Appendix I.

The following examples may illustrate, first, what I call mere doubling of the basic version. They offer hardly any improvements or new revelations:
-- Guṇakāmadeva's account of the calamity in Nepal and his self-accusation (VIII,58-71),
-- the very ample description of preparations for the rain charm ceremony (178c-238b),[39]
-- the very detailed report of the nāgasādhana itself, i.e. the placement of the nine Nāgas in the *maṇḍala* formation (382-407),
-- the broad prophecy of the future worship of the Nāgas in 459-468,
-- the extensive description of the beauty of Śāntikara's cave and its relevance as his place for *samādhi* (525-543), and afterwards of Śāntipura's religious importance in general (545-559).

More interesting are, of course, the expansions upon the contents, of which the following may be considered the most important ones:
-- Guṇakāmadeva, who was not very clearly characterized in 8P, is now described in a more detailed manner. Corresponding to 8P, and in contrast to 10A and 12A, he is right from the beginning portrayed as a good Buddhist (20) and a devotee of Svayaṃbhū (25-29). Thus in his time of distress he first seeks the advice of Svayaṃbhū, who directs him to appeal to Śāntikara (34-39). Before consulting Śāntikara the king worships again Svayaṃbhū (48-55).
-- There is a specific religious practice in 8A which is obviously seen as particularly effective, and extolled as such: this is the "five-fold offering" (*pañcopacārapūjā*).[40] According to the beginning of this version of our legend, the welfare of Nepal depends on three preconditions, namely on Svayaṃbhū's permanent protection, on the regular undertaking of pilgrimages and on the performance of the *pañcopacārapūjā* by inhabitants (3-10). And indeed it is the *pañcopacārapūjā* with which Guṇakāmadeva honours Śvayaṃbhū and Śāntikara in order to win their help against the drought (44-55b).
-- A remarkable new feature is what can be called the "female element," appearing as an innovation in different passages of the present version. On the one hand, the Vajrācārya Śāntikara is introduced together with his wife, who is explicitly stated to be his *śakti* (54 and 224). Each of the Nāgas invoked during the sādhana is also accompanied by a Nāginī, the latter taking her seat between two Nāgas in the *maṇḍala* formation (239-253). Accordingly, Guṇakāmadeva is forced to enter the female apartments (*antaḥpura*) in the palace of Karkoṭaka in order to meet the latter, which the king, mindful of his own *antaḥpura*, finds particularly problematic (267-284). In Karkoṭaka's inner palace a Nāginī tries her best to persuade Karkoṭaka to obey Śāntikara's call (339-351), and finally, when

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[38] For the linguistic quality of the present version in particular, see Kölver 1999.

[39] This passage is additionally interrupted in 223-229 by a passage which declares a general prohibition on entry into the inner part of Śāntipura.

[40] Cf. Locke 1980: 76-78.

Karkoṭaka is forcibly abducted by the king, it is said that the Nāga's daughter starts to cry—which at once leads to rainfall (372).

The scene in Karkoṭaka's inner palace just mentioned is of particular interest for what it can tell us about the relationship of 8A to 12A. It belongs to a series of further innovations found in 8A which may be expected to provide hints on the relative chronology of the different longer versions of our legend. Since 8A can primarily be seen as an extended version of 8P(VV), Śāntikara is not identified with Śāntaśrī in it, with the exception of one passage: the Nāginī who tries to persuade Karkoṭaka to follow Śāntikara's order warns him of the magic power of that *rājācārya* and *siddhaguru* who is here said to have formerly been the Gauḍa king Pracaṇḍadeva (341-344). It is clear that this argumentation is not appropriate to this version. Since, however, the only parallel scene to take place in the inner palace of Karkoṭaka is to be found in 12A, where such an explanation fits the context, it may be assumed that the redactor(s) of 8A already knew the 12A version. This is corroborated by a few minor parallels, too:
-- When Guṇakāmadeva blames himself for the calamity, he first informs his subjects, and together with them he afterwards approaches Śāntikara (41-49). This was not mentioned at all in 8P, only later in 10A and in 12A. And it seems more plausible to find it there than in 8A, since the king and his subjects are described as being corrupt and in need of a return to morality. Thus this textual element, too, may have been taken from 12A.
-- A further detail that could have been borrowed from 12A is the statement, again in 8A, that the painting was done with the blood of the Nāgas—this time with the explicit remark that there was no hurt involved whatsoever (445-453).
-- Minor details, finally, which may point in the same direction of dependence are contained in the following two observations: Only in 12A and 8A is it said that Guṇakāmadeva when abducting Karkoṭaka "took him by the hair" (*sic*).[41] When afterwards the death of Guṇakāmadeva is recounted, it is said in both versions that he reached Sukhāvatī.[42]

If my conclusion is correct that the redactor(s) of 8A made use of the text of 12A, then it is quite possible that they also knew the 10A version of the SvP, which seems to be even older than 12A. This assumption is suggested by at least one smaller correspondence between 10A and 8A: at the end of our episode, it is predicted in both texts, in almost the same words, that Śāntikara *alias* Śāntaśrī will preach the *saddharma* in future when the inhabitants of

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[41] *sakeśagraham* in X,154 of 12A and even four times in VIII,358-361 of 8A.

[42] In X,198 of 12A and three times in VIII,500-502 of 8A. This, however, was mentioned in 10A, too, but nowhere in 8P.

Nepal have become *saddharmahīna*.[43] As already stated above,[44] there is no direct parallel to this in 12A.

Shortly after the Śāntikara episode in 8A, there is another mention of the same Vajrācārya, but in a totally different context. The passage in question (VIII,629c-658) refers to the second important rain-making legend of the Nepal Valley noted in the introduction to the present paper, the Lokeśvara legend. This passage does not have any parallel in other SvP versions. While King Narendradeva of this passage is nowhere identified with the son of Guṇakāmadeva and is explicitly assigned, in fact, to a different time (629cd und 631cd), he is clearly characterized as a devotee of Svayaṃbhū,[45] and his spiritual advisor and helper during a drought, this time of 12 years, is Bandhudatta, who is three times called the pupil of Śāntikara (641, 645 and 650). No doubt, this short passage can be seen as an early stage of the later conception of the modern Lokeśvara legend, according to which Narendradeva is Guṇakāma's son and Bandhudatta is Śāntikara's pupil. But note should be taken of the fact that the opposite side had the say during this stage, which should thus be judged as an inclusivistic attempt to incorporate and, at the same time, subordinate an alien conception to one's own legendary programme.

The Enlarged Version 8A+

The Śāntikara legend of 8A+, the version which was edited by Haraprasād Śāstrī under the title Vṛhat-Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa, has 147 ślokas more than the episode of 8A.[46] A considerable part of the additional passages has plainly been copied word-for-word from the 10A version. These portions mainly consist of two passages which were completely taken over, though they are interrupted in many places and supplemented by additional ślokas in 8A+.[47] Both passages display one and the same simple method of interpolation: the last verse before the interpolated piece is conspicuously repeated at the end in order to resume the thread of the narration.[48] However, the second of these two main interpolations has been placed in an inappropriate position, since the Śāntikara episode proper concludes in śloka 567, and in the passage 568-597 takes on a totally different complexion, which clearly marks it as belonging to the framing story of the whole SvP work.

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[43] Cf. VIII,35 of 8P:
saḥ samādheḥ samutthāya . . . /
deśayiṣyati nepale dharmaṃ mokṣaṃ prakāśakam //
with IX,71 of 10A:
yadā saddharmahīṇe'tra . . . /
tadotthāya samādheḥ sa saddharmaṃ deśayiṣyati //;
in 8A śloka VIII,560 is identical with VIII,35 of 8P and is followed by the two lines (562cd and 563cd):
atra saddharmahīne 'pi pratirūpeṇa deśitam //
[. . .]
saddharmahīne kāle tat pratirūpeṇa deśitam //.

[44] P. 25.

[45] 633-636; in addition, he worships him according to the *pañcopacāravidhi*.

[46] See the concordance of 8P(VV), 8A and 8A+ given below in Appendix I.

[47] See the concordance of 8A+ and 10A given below in Appendix II.

Content-related criteria clearly show that the two larger interpolations in 8A+ must have been taken from 10A, and not vice versa. If we consider first the interpolation in VIII,77-175, it is obvious that this passage fits very well into 10A, whereas in 8A+ serious difficulties arise: Śāntaśrī, as he is suddenly called there (though his name has consistently been Śāntikara in the preceding text), now reproaches Guṇakāmadeva and his subjects for having ruthlessly disregarded political conventions and moral standards. In the preceding text, however, Guṇakāmadeva is praised as a good king who scrupulously blames himself for not having been able to spare his subjects their experience of misfortune in his kingdom. Thus Śāntaśrī's reproaches are totally inappropriate, and the same is true of his advice to the king and his subjects to go on a pilgrimage. The tīrthas mentioned here are those which were mentioned as quite common in 10A, but they are never mentioned elsewhere in 8A—at least, not in the same combination.

All this clearly shows that this portion of text is an interpolation in 8A+, and there can be no doubt that it was taken from 10A. It is remarkable, however, that it should have been placed with such little care in such an obviously unsuitable context. At least the change of the Vajrācārya's name, however, did not elude the notice of the redactor(s). That is why at the end of the legend he (or they) interpolated another passage, again taken from 10A, in which the change of name is explained. Still, we can observe that the passage which fits 10A is inappropriate in 8A+. In both versions, Śāntaśrī is already well known from the preceding chapter as the founder of the Svayaṃbhūcaitya and of the Five Mansions (*pañcapura*). Thus at the end of the rain charm legend of 10A it is explained that Śāntaśrī was accorded his second name of Śāntikara for having put an end to the drought under Guṇakāmadeva. This makes sense, but if the explanation is transposed to 8A+ one would expect the renaming to be just the reverse. Thus the interpolation again does not fit into the context.

Further smaller interpolations within 8A+ are less conspicuous. For the most part they contain less essential supplements to their respective textual environments. I confine myself to two examples:

-- In 372, which belongs to 8A, Karkoṭaka's daughter weeps over the forcible abduction of her father, and immediately afterwards there is an interpolation of nine ślokas (373-381), belonging to 8A+, with general reflections upon the suffering caused by separation (*viyoga*).

-- Between 471b and 488, there are three smaller interpolations which refer to the further development of Guṇakāmadeva after his abdication and to the birth of his son Narendradeva, portrayed here as an infant prodigy who by the age of five had mastered all branches of knowledge.

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[48] The two lines 75c-76b are repeated in 176 and śloka 597 is again presented in 610c-611b.

Conclusion

All the SvP versions of the Śāntikara legend have now been individually introduced. We are thus in a position to propose both a text-historical and mythological development which applies to the Śāntikara episode in particular, but which in its main features also holds true for the literary development of the different versions of the SvP as a whole.

Probably the oldest available stage of the legend has been handed down in a fairly concise prose version, part of a relatively loose compilation of different legends and didactic treatises. There is a very close parallel in verse to this prose version—somewhat shorter but corresponding to it in language and content almost throughout the whole text. Another versification of the prose text was later produced which, in contrast to the first one, introduces a considerable number of changes and additions. In this second versification, the work as a whole exhibits a clearer internal consistency between its divers components—achieved by certain changes to the content (in our legend, for instance, by the identification of Śāntikara with Śāntaśrī) and by the repetitious insertion of specific themes (such as the group of tīrtha deities to be regularly visited). A third verse version of the SvP was composed, and besides clarifying many aspects of the narrative, it achieved the particular aim of improving the relatively dry and didactic style of the older versions by a new and more poetical formulation. Probably as a reaction to there being two later and considerably enlarged concurrent versions alongside the older short text, this latter version was also in the end immensely elaborated upon, so that it became the longest of all the extant text versions. One main motive of the redactor(s) seems to have been simply to extend the old short text in order to make it able to compete with the other versions; in any case, specific new concepts of content or peculiar stylistic improvements are hardly detectable in this longest version, the standard of its Sanskrit in fact being particularly low. How carelessly the enlargement of this version was undertaken, at least in part, is demonstrated in the last stage of extension, in which the majority of added material was plainly copied from another version and scarcely adjusted to the new context.

Thus it is little wonder that our Śāntikara legend finally lost ground to other legends of the rain charm in the Nepal Valley. First of all to be named is the concurrent tradition of Rāto Lokeśvara in Patan, which now is of much greater renown, and also practical relevance, than the Śāntikara tradition. To bring it to a point: what nowadays is believed to guarantee the most important annual rain, the monsoon, is not the painted cloth (*paṭa*) once deposited by Śāntikara in Nāgapura, but rather another piece of cloth, the *bhvata* (the deity's 'shirt'), which is shown to the public in a key ritual during the annual procession festival of Rāto Matsyendranāth;[49] and again, remarkably enough, the legendary tradition behind this *bhvata* is intrinsically related to the rain-controlling Nāgas in the Valley.[50] But to be fair in this comparison of the two rain charm legends, one has to admit that there is one very fundamental feature that may have helped the Lokeśvara rain charm to gain the recognition it has, and that is the blending of the Buddhist Lokeśvara tradition of Bungamati with the Hindu legend of Matsyendranāth. Such a far-reaching connexion with Hinduism nowhere appears in the history of the Śāntikara legend, though clear tendencies towards a Hinduization are obvious in the SvP versions. The title of "Purāṇa" is revealing, and it was applied to a work which, given its nature as a kind of pilgrims' handbook, one would rather have expected to be called a "Māhātmya."[51] Furthermore, the different SvP versions in many places present ideas and terms which are specifically similar to well-known Hindu conceptions, and thus reveal a remarkable willingness on the part of the Buddhist authors or redactors to adapt themselves to Hindu patterns of thinking. One main example of such assimilation is the figure of Śāntikara himself, when he is described as a married ritualist instead of a celibate monk, and his wife is designated as his *śakti*, and other features that can be mentioned here are the worship of tīrtha deities by means of *pañcopacārapūjā* or the demand of a *bhakti* attitude towards spiritual teachers and gods.

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[49] See Locke 1980, index s.v. Bunga dya – Bhoto Jatra.

[50] See Locke 1973: 57-60; on the more general relation of snakes and rain in South Asia see Schmithausen 1997: 57 fn. 130.

Finally, one must take note of the existence of a second concurrent Śāntikara legend besides the one familiar from the SvP versions. This "popular rain-making tale", which was published in a Nepālī collection of folk tales, has been briefly retold in English by Mary S. Slusser.[52] Though there are several common elements in both versions (Śāntikara, Guṇakāmadeva and the Nāga Karkoṭaka play the central roles in both of them), on the whole they are two different stories. Unfortunately, however, the origin of the concurrent legend is totally unknown. Yet the mere fact of the existence of such a second tale once again underscores the conclusion that in the long run the SvP legend of the rain charm could not maintain the prestige that may have been greater at a time when Nepalese Buddhists took immense pains again and again to revise and reanimate the whole work of the SvP.

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[51] See Lévi 1905-1908: Vol. 1, 209.

[52] Slusser 1982: 354f.

Appendix I Concordance of the SvP Versions 8P(VV), 8A and 8A+

(8A+ has been numbered successively, and the correspondences to the text edition [Śāstrī 1894-1900] are added.)

8P(VV)	8A	8A+	Śāstrī Ed. (page, line)
1-2	1-2	=	432,1-4
	3-10	=	432,5-433,4
3	11	=	433,5-6
	12-18	=	433,7-20
4	19	=	434,1-2
	20-29	=	434,3-435,3
5	30	=	435,4-5
	31-41	=	435,6-436,8
		42	436,9-10
6ab		43ab	436,11
6cd	43cd	=	436,12
	44-55b	=	436,13-437,14
7	55c-56b	=	437,15-16
		56c-57b	437,17-18
8ab			
8cd	57cd	=	437,19
	58-73	=	437,20-439,11
9ab	74ab	=	439,12
	74c-75b	=	439,13-14
9cd	75cd	=	439,15
	76	=	439,16
		77-175	439,17-449,19
	176-177b	=	449,20-450,2
10a-d	177c-178b	=	450,3-4
	178c-238b	=	450,5-456,10
10ef	238cd	=	456,11
	239-246b	=	456,12-457,7
		246c-252	457,8-458,2
	253	=	458,3-4
11	254	=	458,5-6
	255-256	=	458,7-10
12	257	=	458,11-12
	258	=	458,13-14
13ab	259ab	=	458,15
	259c-263b	=	458,16-459,2
13c-14a	263c-264b	=	459,3-4
	264c-265b	=	459,5-6
14c-16b	265c-267b	=	459,7-10
	267c-284	=	459,11-461,6
16c-18b	285-287b	=	461,7-11
	287c-292b	=	461,12-462,2

8P(VV)	8A	8A+	Śāstrī Ed. (page, line)
18c-19b	292c-293b	=	462,3-4
	293c-300b	=	462,5-18
19c-20	300c-301	=	462,19-463,1
	302	=	463,2-3
21ab	303ab	=	463,4
21c-f			
	303c-356	=	463,5-468,14
		357-358b	468,15-17
	358c-362	=	468,18-469,7
22	363	=	469,8-9
	364-372	=	469,10-470,8
		373-381	470,9-471,6
	382-407b	=	471,7-473,17
23	407c-408b	=	473,18-19
	408c-410b	=	474,1-4
24	410c-411b	=	474,5-6
	411c-412b	=	474,7-8
25	412c-413b	=	474,9-10
	413c-453	=	474,11-478,11
26a-d	454	=	478,12-13
	455-456	=	478,14-17 26e-27b
	457	=	478,18-19
	458ab	=	478,20
27cd	458cd	=	479,1
	459-468b	=	479,2-480,1
28ab	468cd	=	480,2
	469ab	=	480,3
28c-f	469c-470b	=	480,4-5
	470c-471b	=	480,6-7
		471c-480	480,8-481,5
	481	=	481,6-7
		482-484	481,8-13
	485	=	481,14-15
		486-487	481,16-20
	488-495	=	482,1-16
29	496	=	482,17-18
	497	=	482,19-483,1
30	498	=	483,2-3
	499-504b	=	483,4-13
31	504c-505b	=	483,14-15
	505c-522	=	483,16-485,12
32-33	523-524	=	485,13-16
	525-543	=	485,17-487,15
34	544	=	487,16-17
	545-559	=	487,18-489,10

8P(VV)	8A	8A+	Śāstrī Ed. (page, line)
35	560	=	489,11-12
	561-567	=	489,13-490,7
		598-610b	493,10-494,15
	629c-658	=	496,16-499,15

Appendix II Correspondences between the Additions to 8A+ and 10A

Additions to 8A+	10A
42-43b	
56c-57b	
77-175:	
103c-110	VIII, 23-29
	30
111	31
	32-36
113-114b	37-38b
	38cd
115	39
	40
116-117a	41-42b
	42cd
118-123	43-48
	49-52b
124c-129	52c-57
	58
130-138	59-66
	67-96
140-144	97-101
	102ab
145-150	102c-107
	108-112
151-154	113-116
	117-125
155-166	126-135
	136
167	137
	138-139
168-175	140-147
246c-252	
357-358b	
373-381	
471c-480	
482-484	
486-487	
598-610b:	
598-600b	IX,2-4b
	4cd
600c-602b	5-6
	7-17
602c-610b	18-25

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A Letter Written by the Fifth Dalai Lama to the King of Bhaktapur

CHRISTOPH CÜPPERS

Among the collection of approximately three hundred letters in the *gsung-'bum*[1] of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617-1682) we find only three items which were sent to rulers of kingdoms which are nowadays a part of modern Nepal. Two of these letters were sent to the king of Jumla, and one to the king of Bhaktapur,[2] Jitāmitramalla, who reigned from 1673 to 1696.[3]

The reason for the letter to the king of Bhaktapur was that the Dalai Lama wished to thank him for having sent a delegation and some presents on the occasion of the appointment of Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho to the post of "regent" (*sde srid*). The late Hugh Richardson dealt in an article with the decree in which the Dalai Lama appoints Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho as regent and gave an English translation of it.[4]

As can be seen from the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography, delegations from the kings of Bhaktapur relatively frequently went to Lhasa and were received by the Dalai Lama. Usually they came on the first day of the new year celebrations. Other visitors from Bhaktapur included trade delegations bringing herbs or other substances for the production of medicine. During the audiences with the Dalai Lama they sat on flat mats and were offered tea, it is interesting to note, according to the "list of seats" (*gdan tho*) composed by the Fifth Dalai Lama himself.[5]

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[1] Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, *rGya bod hor sog gi mchog dman rnams la 'phrin yig snyan dngags su bkod pa rab snyan rgyud mang*, ed. Zhol, vol. Dza, 289 fols. (published also in book format by mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang: 1993, 506f.). Yumiko Ishihama has discussed some aspects of the Fifth Dalai Lama's letter-writing, particularly style, in "An Aspect of the Tibet, Mongol and China Relationship in the Late 17th Century from the View of Tibetan Letter Format—Based on the Letter of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the Regent Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho and the Mongolian Prince Galden," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 55 (1998): 165–189.

[2] Kho-khom in Tibetan

[3] For information on his reign see M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 204–206, 400.

[4] H. Richardson, "The Fifth Dalai Lama's Decree Appointing Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho as Regent," *Bulletin of Oriental and African Studies* 43 (1980): 29–44; reprinted in id., *High Peaks, Pure Earth: Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture*, edited by Michael Aris, 440–461 (London: Serindia Publications, 1998).

[5] See Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, *Za hor gyi ban de ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i 'di snang 'khrul ba'i rol rtsed rtogs brjod kyi tshul du bkod pa du kū la'i gos bzang*, vol. 2 (Lhasa: 1991), 271ff. Dignitaries and officials were seated, according to their rank, on from one to five cushions, including half steps distinguished by the use of both thick and flat cushions. The Dalai Lama as the head of state was seated on five thick cushions. Delegations from Jumla, Kathmandu, Patan, Bhaktapur and from the border regions of Tibet were seated on the lowest seat, i.e. a single mat.

Reference is made in the third Dukūla volume that on the 6th day of the 9th Hor month in the *lcags-sprel* ('iron-monkey') year (1680) a delegation from Bhaktapur was given tea together with other guests.[6] On the 12th day of that month the Dalai Lama wrote a reply to Jitāmitra, given below.[7] We learn from this letter that Jitāmitra had sent two persons to Lhasa whose names were Bholaki and Lavor, alternatively spelt in the autobiography as Bholāgi and Lahor. The gifts brought by them to Lhasa consisted of four items: an "ornament" (*spa ri*), a leather bag of "*Acacia catechu* resin" (*stod ja*), a leather bag of "sulphur" (*mu zi*), and a leather bag of "sugarcane" (*ngur*). It is not clear for what purpose the sulphur was used. Contemporary documents from Nepal mention sulphur mainly in the production of gunpowder, but sulphur has been used in Tibet also for veterinary purposes.

Regarding the structure of this letter it can be divided into six parts: It starts by mentioning that the delegation has safely arrived and that the gifts were received. The second part describes in a flattering tone the state of affairs in the kingdom of Bhaktapur and the accomplishments of its ruler. Added to this is the wish that his life may be long. This is followed by a third section alluding in a polite phrase to the situation in Tibet, while in the fourth part the author expresses his gratitude to the king for having sent the delegation and the gifts. In part five the desire is expressed that the good relations between Tibet and Bhaktapur may continue. The last part, the colophon, mentions the place and date of composition and the "gift" (*rten*) sent together with the letter.[8] The author thus follows the usual format of Tibetan letters found in the "model letter-writing books" (*yig bskur rnam gzhag*).

Tibetan text

[274a,2] lcags sprel bal po kho khom rgyal pos sde pa sangs rgyas rgya mtsho sa la spyod pa'i rgyal por bskos pa'i khri 'bul ba mi sna ched du byung ba'i chab shog gi lan g.yas 'khyil phyogs kun khyab pa'i dung dkar /

nub phyogs nai pa la'i nor 'dzin gyi khyon la legs byas kyi 'khor lo mngon par 'phags pa nyi ma'i rgyud lha'i lha mi'i dbang phyug kho khom rgyal po chen po'i bka' tham rten spa ri gcig / stod ja ltang tse gcig / mu zi ltang tse gcig / ngur ltang gcig rnams pho nya ba bho la ki dang la vor gnyis kyis nyams med du son / bskal pa mang por bsod nams kyi tshogs rgya chen po yongs su bsags pa las grub pa'i mi'i bdag po'i sku gser gyi ri bo lta bur snyun ma mnga' bar mnga' 'bangs kyi dbus su lhun chags shing legs byas kyi mthu yongs su brtas pa las byung ba'i yul khams kun tu nad mtshon mu ge'i chad pa / zhi zhing chab 'bangs kyi kho ra khor yug mtha' klas par mkho'i dgu'i 'byor pa phun sum tshogs shing / tshe yang ring por gnas pa'i dga' ston la spyod bzhin par bzhugs par yid kyi spro ba mchog tu 'phel / 'di na'ang lha dang bcas pa'i yid can mtha' dag gi 'dren pa gcig pu pa dpal ldan shākya seng ge'i lung rtogs kyi bstan pa dang skye rgu'i phan bde spel ba la mig gi spyod yul yangs par gnas / bod dang bod [274b] chen po 'khor dang bcas pa'i 'gro ba rnams kyis mang pos bkur ba'i khrir siddārtha'i lo chu stod kyi zla bar rgyal sa gsar du bskos pa mi'i bdag po nyid kyi snyan du dangs pa'i legs skyes spel bar 'di pa gnyis chad du mngags par rjes su yi rangs par gyur / sngar nas bal bod dkar tshe[9] gcig pa la phan tshun thams cad g.yo ba med pa gzhir bcas shing slad nas kyang phebs tshogs ganggā'i rgyun ltar chad pa med pa 'tshal / rten kha btags bzang gos phyi nang dang bcas ru drar 'bod pa'i lo tha skar gyis nya ba'i tshes dge bar rgyal khab chen po po ta la nas phul /

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[6] Dukūla, vol. 3, p. 380: *tshes drug la . . . bal po kho khom gyi khri 'bul mi sna bho lā gi dang / la hor / . . . la ja gral* "On the sixth day (29 September 1680) tea was offered to Bholāgi and Lahor, the congratulatory (*khri 'bul*) delegation from Bhaktapur in Nepal." The term *khri-'bul* literally means 'an offering or gift for an enthronement'.

[7] See Dukūla, vol. 3, p. 381: *kho khom rgyal pos mi sna ched du ngags pa'i lan snyan tshig gi lam nas drangs pa'i lhug pa rnams brtsams* "[I] composed a reply to the king of Bhaktapur in prose, quoting from poetic language, for having sent a delegation."

[8] In the translation of the letter I have marked these parts by roman numerals in square brackets.

Translation

Reply to a letter brought by a delegation sent in the "iron-monkey" (*lcags sprel*) year [1680] by the king of Bhaktapur on the occasion of the appointment of sDe-pa Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho as regent[10]—a white conch shell [with a form] turning to the right and [a sound] pervading all directions

[I] The letter of the Great King of Bhaktapur in Nepal to the west, the Wheel of Goodness visibly extolled to the whole world, "descended from Angiras" (*āṃgirasaḥ*), the *deva* of *deva*s and the ruler of men, has reached here safely with the [following] gifts:

one ornament / piece of jewellery[11]
one leather bag of *Acacia catechu* resin[12]
one leather bag of sulfur
one leather bag of sugarcane

[brought by] the two messengers, Bholaki and Lavor.

[II] A wide accumulation of merit has been completely collected during many ages. Therefore, the body of the accomplished ruler is like a mountain of gold free from disease; he is exalted and radiates amidst his subjects, and the power of his good fortune is completely extended.

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[9] The modern form is *dkar-tsho*.

[10] *Sa la spyod-pa'i rgyal-po* means literally 'earth-possessing king' (*bhūmibhuj rāja*).

[11] According to the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, *spa means* rgyan-cha *'ornament, jewellery'*.

[12] S.C. Das, s.v. *stod-ja* catechu, the resin of *Acacia catechu* (Tib. *seng-ldeng*)."

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From this results that the kingdom is everywhere free from disease, war (lit.: arms) and famine. And it is peaceful, and the necessary wealth is perfect for all his subjects in the endlessly wide circle [of his realm]. May his life last long, and may the highest joy of his heart be augmented as if [it were] rejoicing in a feast.

[III] Here, too, it is clearly visible that the Buddhist teaching comprising the instruction and realization of the glorious Śākya lion, the only guide of all beings (including the gods) and the welfare of all beings are increasing.

[IV] I was very pleased that you sent these two [messengers] as a gratulatory and tributary delegation to the ruler newly appointed to the throne in the *chu-stod* month of the Siddhārtha year (= July 1679)—[a throne] very much respected by the people of Tibet and Great Tibet.[13]

[V] It is self-evident that the "good relations" (*dkar tshe*) that have long existed between the Newar kingdom and Tibet will be mutually continued, and I wish that later, too, news [from there] will come uninterruptedly like the Ganga's stream.

[VI] Sent from the great Potala palace on the auspicious date, the 12th day of the 9th month of the so-called *rudra*-year,[14] together with a shawl (*kha-btags*) [and two pieces of] brocade for the inside and outside [of a gown] as gifts.

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[13] *Bod chen-po*. For a discussion of this term see: T. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad* (Rome: 1962), 64.

[14] I.e., 5 October 1680.

The Inner Pilgrimage of the Tantras: The Sacred Geography of the Kubjikā Tantras with reference to the Bhairava and Kaula Tantras

MARK S. G. DYCZKOWSKI

This paper focuses on the sacred geography of a few Śaiva schools of the Bhairava Tantras and their parallel Śākta schools, in particular that of the little-known goddess Kubjikā and, to a lesser extent, the much better known goddess Tripurā. Apart from the Tantras themselves, a major source for this paper is the work of the great 11th-century Kashmiri, Abhinavagupta, especially his *Tantrāloka*. All the sources belong to the culmination of the formative period of Tantrism, that is, between the 9th and 12th century. A major feature of these geographies, which this paper will briefly explore, is the manner in which they have been interiorized.

In 1950 D.C. Sircar published the *Sākta Pīṭhas*. In this work he presents an edition of the *Pīṭhanirṇaya* that lists 51 goddess sites (*pīṭha*). In his lengthy introduction, Sircar reproduces a number of such lists from other sources, mostly Purāṇas and Tantras. Apart from this well-known work very little research has been done on the sacred geographies of the Tantras in comparison to the relatively large amount of research that has been done on the geographies of the Purāṇas and the Epics. One obvious reason for this is that many of the sacred sites of the Purāṇas and Epics are still functional. Hence they can be accurately located and much can be learnt about them from work in the field. Although a number of the sites found in the early Tantras have been absorbed into the sacred geography of the Purāṇas and Epics or may have been common to both from an early period, their connection with the Tantric tradition has mostly been lost. It follows, therefore, that the Sanskritic tradition associated with most of these sites does not generally refer to the Tantras as its authority. And even where such references exist, they are to Tantras of a later period.

Another reason why the sacred geography of the Tantras has not received much attention is that the roots of Tantrism belong to a culture originally developed by peripatetic ascetics. In the transition to the idiom of the Sanskrit normative texts (*śāstra)*—in this case the Tantras—the forms of the earlier proto-Tantric cults[1] were necessarily domesticated to varying degrees and systematized by those who knew this idiom best, namely, Brahmins and those ascetics who were well versed in Brahminical culture.[2] This was not at all a unique phenomenon in the history of Hinduism; Dumont, amongst others, has drawn attention to the fact that:

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[1] I deliberately refer to these seminal cults as "proto-Tantric" to reserve the adjective "Tantric" for those cults and their elemental contents found in the texts denoted as Tantras or by some equivalent term. One of these terms is "Āgama" which literally means '(a tradition) coming from the past'. This "coming" (*āgama*) is often presented in the texts as being originally, and most fundamentally, an oral transmission. Many of the numerous rituals described in the early Tantras, especially the Śaiva and their offshoot, the goddess-centred or Kaula Tantras, are best suited for the solitary peripatetic ascetic. The great Tantric systems that developed in the early period, that is, prior to the 12th century, are highly elaborate. Those who built these systems must have been erudite scholars who approached their task from the perspective of the prior and contemporary literary traditions. These traditions furnished ready-made forms and norms that served as a filter through which what remained of the "external," "oral" elements was transformed and absorbed. This took place so thoroughly and the additional, purely literary input was so massive that contact with these sources became highly tenuous, a correct assessment of their nature being now problematic.

[2] The Buddhist Tantras, especially those of the Yoga and Anuttara Yoga, which were, in some respects, strongly influenced by their Śaivite equivalents, probably developed in an analogous manner. In this case

> The secret of Hinduism may be found in the dialogue between the renouncer and the man-in-the-world. . . . In fact the man-in-the-world, and particularly the Brahman, is given the credit for the ideas which he may have adopted but not invented. Such ideas are much more relevant and they clearly belong to the thought of the renouncer.[3]

This is particularly true of the early Śākta and Śaiva Tantric ascetics. Behaving in accord with a different code of conduct which, although ethically very stringent, differs from the commonly accepted one of smārta Dharma, these antinomian ascetics lived in a separate reality. Enjoined in their rituals (*pūjā*), religious conduct (*caryā)*, and itinerant life, to make no distinction between pure and impure, in terms of the conventional moral code of the householder they were little different from the outcastes with whom they freely associated. And yet these ascetics were the workers of wonders and, above all, accomplished adepts who founded many, if not all of the numerous Tantric traditions.[4]

Some Tantric cults, particularly those of the Śaiva Siddhānta and the Vaiṣṇava Pañcarātra, took to temple-building and hence managed to establish extensive public cults. But other forms of Tantrism, particularly the Śākta cults, stayed closer to their roots and so maintained their original strongly closed, esoteric character, despite the inevitable process of domestication. The householder in such cases did not need to go to a temple or sacred site. He simply reproduced the temple and the original wayfaring life in his imagination by means of symbolic representations. These, and the sacred space he created to perform the prescribed rituals and Yoga, he projected into himself. Accordingly, the sacred geographies of such cults lay close to the edge of redundancy and were subject to considerable transformation and assimilation into the greater encompassing smārta sacred geographies of the Purāṇas.

Nowadays, the literate (as opposed to the folk) religions of the populations of large areas of South Asia are still based to a large degree on the Tantras. The Śaiva rituals performed in the temples of South India are adapted from the Śaivasiddhānta Āgamas just as the Vaiṣṇava rituals are based on those prescribed in the Pañcarātra and Vaikhānasa Saṁhitās.[5] The

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wandering Buddhist ascetics contributed substantially, although not exclusively, to laying the foundations of the Tantric systems, which were mostly developed systematically by erudite monks in their monasteries. In this case the input of the system builders was supplemented not only by the Buddhist literary traditions (*śāstra)* but also by the Śaiva. The Buddhists conceived this process to be one of interiorization of the Śaiva elements. These elements were "external" both because they were outside Buddhism and, above all, because they were literally done. "Internalized," they could be inserted into the monumental structures of the great Buddhist Tantric systems.

[3] Dumont 1980: 270, 275 quoted by Quigley 1993: 56.

[4] The examples that could be quoted are innumerable. A Kubjikā Tantra tells us about Vidyānanda who received initiation from Niṣkriyānanda. The text tells us:

> *Here was a sage (muni) called Śīlāciti. His (spiritual) son was an accomplished adept—Siddha—whose appearance was like that of a (tribal) Śābara. He was called Vidyānanda. He lived in cremation grounds and devoutly practised nightly vigils (niśāṭana). He was a Tantric adept (vīra lit. 'hero') intent on the practice of Kuṇḍalinī Yoga (cakracāra—lit. 'practice of the wheels' or 'devoutly attended Tantric rites'). Śrīśaila is a Śivapīṭha. To the north of it, on a mountain with many peaks, is a divine cave made of gold that is venerated by Siddhas and gods. He, the Vidyāśābara, worshipped there. He practised desirous of the Knowledge Free of Action (niṣkriyājñāna). He practised the most intense form of divine devotion. Thus Niṣkriyānanda was pleased with him and transmitted Kālikā's tradition (krama) to him.* (CMSS 7/188ff.)

[5] The term *saṁhitā* literally means '(a thing that has been) assembled' i.e. a 'compilation'. In this case, the term is a synonym of the term Tantra. These texts also refer to themselves as "Tantras" and "Āgamas," just as

Liṅgāyat Śaivism of Andhra and Karṇāṭaka is based on a corpus of Śaiva Āgamas developed independently of the Siddhānta, although similar to it in many respects and clearly influenced by it. In Bengal, Maithila and Assam the Śāktism of the late (post-6th century) Śākta Tantras is still extensively practised. Especially relevant from the point of view of this paper is the esoteric literate religion of the inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley, which is thoroughly rooted in the Tantric traditions of the texts I have chosen to examine here.

There are good reasons to believe that the role of Tantrism in the religions of South Asia was much greater in the past than it is at present. Its expansion in the past (especially between the 6th and 12th centuries) and survival up to the present was possible to the degree in which Tantrism managed to adapt to the requirements and conditions of the householder. The strategies adopted to make these adaptations possible are no less extensive and diverse than the extent of the cultural forms, philosophical thought, ritual and lifestyles to which they have given rise.

This paper is an attempt to analyze a few examples, drawn from selected Tantric sources (especially the Kubjikā Tantras), of one of these strategies, namely, the interiorization of their own sacred geography. These texts perceive how the external sacred geography draws its power from its internal counterpart, while the inner geography derives its form from the outer. Thus the two give life to one another, even when their relationship has been interiorized and become purely ideal. The dialectical interplay between the inner and outer yields more than just the accumulation of the energy of an interiorized sacred place. It sucks into itself the outer form to place it at the very centre of reality. The Nameless and Formless thus assumes name and form—as the geography of the innermost creative core of reality.

Thus, an essential feature of the sacred geography of these texts is that it is always understood to have an internal equivalent. As one would expect, the ideal, interior pole progressively assumes increasingly greater prominence over the exterior one until the latter dwindles away into a virtual cipher. Even so, we should not forget that for this dialectic to function properly, this sacred geography must, at its origins at least, be external, that is, empirically real. This is true not in spite of, but because of the ideal reality of the inner, even though the inner is the product of the power of the creative imagination applied to the creation of a sacred universe for the purpose of ritual, contemplation (i.e. Yoga) and the development of insight (*jñāna*). We shall therefore need to examine both, that is, the concrete outer geography and its ideal inner equivalent, in order to understand the manner of their interaction and with it the sacred geography of these Tantras.

In order to do this I will present a few exemplary geographies both to determine their content and to see how these principles operate in the doctrines of the Tantras chosen for study. I will focus especially on the Tantras of the goddess Kubjikā.

An important feature of this geography is that it can be interiorized to varying degrees depending on the interiority of the locus of projection. This can be:
1) The Body: The corporeal surface of inscription[6] may be on or around the body as well as in the centres and channels within it. Examples we will examine include the projection of the

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some of their Śaiva equivalents, aware of their own composite, compiled nature, refer to themselves as *saṁhitās*.

[6] I am indebted to Professor Sanderson of Oxford for this expression.

sacred places founded by the goddess Kubjikā in her tour of India onto the face, as described in the Kubjikā Tantras, and the imaginary lotus of sacred sites projected into the body according to the *Niśisaṁcāra*, a Bhairava Tantra quoted by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*.

2) The Breath: This is variously represented. In some of the following examples, the twofold character of the breath, dynamic and at rest, characterized as Sound (*nāda)* and the Point (*bindu*), respectively, are the loci of projection.

3) Core reality: At this, the innermost level, the ground of existence itself is the surface of inscription. In this case, sacred place is the Divine Core. This is not a projection but the radiating source of all projections that together constitute the manifest world with its sacred geography. According to the Tantras of the Kālī cult (the Kālīkrama), for example, the supreme power of the deity's divine consciousness is simultaneously both the source and the sacred seat—*pīṭha* —of its energies:

O mother! This, the great sacred seat (pīṭha) born from You, is the energized vitality (of consciousness) which pours forth when Śiva becomes one with You by virtue of your perpetually expanding body of energy.
And this, the (divine) intellect, the supreme vitality (of consciousness) is You, O (goddess) Śivā, whose body of light abides within the five elements beginning with Earth and who generates the Wheel of the Sacred Seats (pīṭhacakra—corresponding to them). You, who alone possess all the powers of the Wheel of the Sacred Seats, abide always and everywhere. Perceived, O Mother, by the wise who are at one with the force (of pure consciousness—udyama), You are the unobscured dawning (of enlightenment).[7]

In the Kubjikā cult, in a manner typical of the symbolism of Śākta cults in general, the Divine Core is primarily characterized as the triangular geometric icon that represents the goddess as the Source—Yoni—of manifestation. Let us begin from this inner core first, as the teaching that concerns it is central to the doctrine of the Kubjikā Tantras that I have chosen for detailed study.

As emanation itself, Kubjikā is the Maṇḍala that is both the source of the universe and its ideal geometry. In this case the Maṇḍala is primarily the Triangle of the Vulva (*yoni)* which is the goddess herself. This is why she is called Vakrā (Crooked) and Kubjikā (Hunchbacked). This basic triangular form has four components located at the three corners and the centre. These are the four primary seats (*pīṭha*) of the goddess. The goddess is the entire economy of all the energies both in the universe and in their microcosmic and transcendent parallels in consciousness. But she is not just the sum of all energies; she is also every one of them individually. They are deployed in sacred space that the Tantras in general characterize as an Emptiness (*śūnya)* called the Sky (*kha*, *vyoman)* or the ethereal space of consciousness (*cidākāśa*). The pervasive condition of these energies precedes and, in one aspect, perpetually transcends manifestation, which is understood to take place on the analogy of speech and its attendant vehicle, breathing. Every cosmogonic manifestation of deity (theophany) and power (kratophany) occurs in a specific place, the Sacred Place

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[7] amba śaktivapuṣā tvayonmeṣadrūpayā samarasaḥ śivo yadā |
yat tadollasati vīryam ūrjitaṁ pīṭha eṣa hi mahāṁs tvadutthitaḥ ||
yā śive sphuraṇaśaktir akṣayā kṣmādipañcakaniviṣṭabhātanuḥ |
sā mahad bhavati vīryam agrimaṁ yanmayī tvam asi pīṭhacakrasūḥ ||
pīṭhacakranikaraikadharmiṇī tvaṁ sthitā ca satataṁ samantataḥ |
sadbhir udyamanirantarātmabhir lakṣyase 'mba niravagrahodayā ||

(*sthāna*) that is the locus of immanence. Presenting itself to itself, the transcendent becomes immanent through a process of localization analogous to that of the articulation of speech.

Powerful cosmogonic sounds emanate from powerful places; indeed powerful sounds are powerful places and as such the phonemic components of these sounds are the mantric energies of sacred places. Thus the identity of these energies as sacred objects of worship is determined by their vital mantric character and locations (*sthāna*), of which four are the most important. Accordingly, we read in a Kubjikā Tantra:

The energy called the Vulva (yoni) is endowed with the movement of the three paths (i.e. the three major channels of the vital breath), consists of the three syllables (of creation, persistence and destruction i.e. AIṀ, HRĪṀ, ŚRĪṀ) and three aspects (the powers of will, knowledge and action). (It contains) the venerable Uḍḍiyāṇa which, endowed with the supreme energy and well energized, is located in the middle. The venerable (sacred seat) called Jālandhara is located within the abode manifested in the right corner. The venerable sacred seat Pūrṇa is in the left (corner), being formed through the fear of the fettered, while Kāmarūpa is in the front (lower corner of this downward pointing triangle).[8]

The earliest manuscripts of the Kubjikā Tantras (all of which discovered so far are Nepalese) belong to the 11th century. These include manuscripts of Tantras that presuppose a development of not less than a century. Thus by the 10th century, at the latest, this scheme of four primary sacred sites (*pīṭha*), which became largely standard for the whole of subsequent Tantric Śāktism, was already well established and thoroughly interiorized in the Kubjikā Tantras. The primary importance of these places for such forms of Tantrism, both Śaiva and Śākta, cannot be overstated. An important example on the Hindu side is the incorporation of this triangle, wholesale with its sacred seats, into the centre of Śrīcakra by the Tantras of the goddess Tripurā. The same grouping of sacred seats is also given pride of place in the Buddhist Hevajra Tantra and some of the other major Buddhist Tantras of the Anuttara Yoga and Yoga groups.[9] They interiorized these places so thoroughly in fact that the Four Sacred Seats (*catuṣpīṭha*) came to represent metaphysical principles.[10] As Map 9, plotted on the basis of a selection of such texts indicates, the sacred geography of these Tantras has much in common with those of their Hindu equivalents of the time, including the Kubjikā Tantras.

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[8] yā sā śaktir bhagākhyā tripathagatiyutā tryakṣarā triprakārā
tasyāḥ śrī-uḍḍiyāṇaṁ parakalasahitaṁ madhyasaṁsthaṁ sudīptam |
tacchrījālandharākhyaṁ prakaṭitanilaye dakṣiṇe caiva koṇe
vāme śrīpūrṇapīṭhaṁ paśujanabhayakṛt kāmarūpaṁ tadagre || CMSS 1/4

The above verse is in *śragdharā* metre. Apart from the standard śloka, the metre in which most of the Tantras are written, this complex metre appears to have been especially favoured by Tantric authors prior to the 11th century. The Buddhist *Kālacakra Tantra* is almost entirely written in this metre. The above passage is of special interest because it is quoted in the *Vimalaprabhā*, a commentary on the *Kālacakra Tantra* by Śrīpuṇḍarīka, who lived in the middle of the 11th century. In the usual derisive manner of Buddhist commentators towards others who are not Buddhists, Puṇḍarīka refers to those who accept the authority of this text as demons to be devoured (*bhakṣadaitya)*. They have not known the supreme secret and their body is like that of the demon Māra who tormented the Buddha (*Vimalaprabhā*, vol. 3, 146-8). This body is the triangular Vulva (*bhaga*) of the goddess that this verse describes and the Kubjikā Tantras teach the adept should project into his own body. Here is yet another testimony to the existence of the Kubjikā Tantras in the 11th century outside Nepal, possibly in Bengal, if this is the place where Śrīpuṇḍarīka wrote his commentary as some scholars believe.

[9] The Hevajra Tantra declares that:
pīṭhaṁ jālandharaṁ khyātam uḍḍiyānaṁ tathaiva ca |
pīṭhaṁ paurṇagiriś caiva kāmarūpaṁ tathaiva ca ||

The process of interiorization of these places is so ancient and thorough that the exact location of these places is an object of much scholarly dispute. An additional process, which, in the case of the Tantras at least, accompanies, as well shall see, that of interiorization, renders the exact identification of these places even more difficult. I am referring to the phenomenon of replication, whereby sacred places of pan-Indian importance are projected into local geographies.

Although I cannot hope to resolve these disputes, I shall venture to present hitherto unanalyzed material pertinent to this problem with a few modest observations and a very tentative hypothesis. Firstly, I assume that the commonly held view that the locations of Kāmarūpa and Jālandhara are in Assam and the Jammu region, respectively, is correct. This is a reasonable assumption, inasmuch as both these places, unlike the other two, Uḍḍiyāna and Pūrṇagiri, are important centres of Śāktism to this day. Moreover, the character of at least one of these places and its characterization in the Tantras appear to correspond. I am referring to Jālandhara. Tantric etymology derives the first part of this name from the word *jvāla* meaning 'flame' or *jāla* meaning 'net'. These two derivations are combined to furnish a description of Jālandhara as the place that "bears (*-dhara*) the net or series of the goddess's flaming energies."[11] Most Hindus know that in the Kangra Valley, close to the modern town of Jālandhara in the Jummu region, there is a cave where natural gas leaks from cracks in the rock. The small flames that this produces are worshipped to this day as the manifest form of the goddess Jvālamukhī whose name literally means ' (the goddess) whose mouth is made of flames.'[12]

'Jālandhara is said to be a sacred seat (pīṭha), as is Uḍḍiyāna. Paurṇagiri is a sacred seat and so is Kāmarūpa.' Hevajra Tantra 1/7/12

Note that these are the same four places mentioned in the reference quoted above (fn. 8) from a Kubjikā Tantra.

[10] Sircar 1973: 11.

[11] mahājvālālisandīptaṁ dīptatejānalaprabham |
mahājvālāvalīṭopaṁ devyās tejo mahādbhutam |
dhṛtaṁ yena pratāpo 'syās tena tajjālasaṁjñakam || KMT 2/50cd-51

Powerful with its series of great flames, the radiant energy (tejas) of the goddess is very astonishing. Intensified with rows of great flames, it has the light of intensely burning fire. (This sacred seat) which bears her great heat is (therefore) called Jāla.

[12] Bakker examines the sources concerning Jālandhara. These range from the accounts of the 6th-century Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan tsang, Muslim accounts from the 16th century onwards and 19th-century British archeologists and travellers, as well as Sanskrit sources. Bakker (1983: 60f.) reports that the country of Jālandhara is said to have received its name from a Daitya king called Jālandhara. According to the *Padmapurāṇa*, Jālandhara, the son of the Ocean and the Ganges, was given a part of India (*jambudvīpa*) for his residence. This country came to be known as Jālandhara. (*Padmapurāṇa*, Uttarakhanda, 4/3 ff.). Mythology identifies this area with the vast body of the demon Jālandhara who was slain by Śiva in battle. The local tradition of the Kangra Valley, which is a part of this area, identifies Jālandhara's mouth with the goddess Jvālamukhī, whose shrine is located in the Valley. Examining the sources at his disposal, Bakker perceives a connection between the location of this goddess and Jālandhara even without referring to the Tantras where this connection is explicit.

Kāmarūpa is harder to identify. The original name of this place, known to both early Hindu and Buddhist sources, is Kāmaru. The Sanskritized form "Kāmarūpa" is easily derivable from it. This place is of great importance for the early Śākta—technically called Kaula—Tantras and the strongly Śākta orientated Bhairava Tantras. This is largely because of its association with Matsyendranātha, the reputed originator of the Kaula teachings and therefore, by extension, all the Kaula Tantric traditions, including those of Kubjikā, Tripurā and Kālī.[13] Abhinavagupta praises him first, before all the other teachers he venerates at the beginning of his monumental work on Tantra, the *Tantrāloka*. Jayaratha, in his commentary on the Tantrāloka, tells us that this is because Matsyendranātha is "famous as the one who revealed all the Kula scriptures."[14] He was especially important for Abhinavagupta because the latter, like many Tantrics of the 11th-century Kashmir in which he lived, considered Śākta Kaula ritual and doctrine (*kulaprakriyā*) superior to its Śaiva-cum-Bhairava equivalent (*tantraprakriyā),* with which it is blended both in the Tantras and Abhinava's *Tantrāloka.*[15] The many Kaula traditions that link this site with such an important figure and its persistent identification with Kāmākhya (modern Gauhati) in Assam lend credibility to the correctness of this identification.

Of the four places discussed here, the location of Pūrṇagīri has been the least investigated. The inhabitants of the Nainital district of the Himalayas identify a sacred mountain in that region as Pūrṇagiri. This name, however, is relatively recent. The older form, reported in the *Almora Gazetteer* of 1911, is Puniagiri, which is derivable from the Sanskrit Puṇyagiri ('Mountain of Merit'), rather than Pūrṇagiri. Another candidate is found in Orissa. There, learned Oḍiyas, on the basis of their local traditions, identify it with the town of Puṣpagiri.[16] Another possibility is a mountain by this name in central India that to my mind appears to be the most likely identification. In order to understand why I believe this, let us return to our triangle. Most accounts locate Pūrṇagiri in the right corner of the triangle and Jālandhara in the left with respect to Kāmarūpa which is located in the "front (i.e. top) corner" (*agrakoṇa*). We see the same layout in Figure 1, which we shall discuss in some detail below. If Pūrṇagiri is identified with the mountain by that name in central India, then the points plotted for these three sites would in fact be located in the corners of an almost perfectly equilateral triangle (traced in red on Map 1).[17]

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[13] For the sake of precision, it is important to specify that the Tantric (rather than "folk" or Purāṇic) worship of Kālī makes its first substantial appearance in the Bhairava Tantras. Although the Tantras of this group are centred on the worship of Bhairava, a fierce and erotic form of Śiva, Kaula (i.e. early Śākta) Tantrism developed out of them. The adept (variously called *sādhaka* or, in the *Brahmayāmala, avadhūta)* is identified in the rituals of many of these Tantras with Bhairava in order to satisfy the hordes of Yoginīs who are his encompassing and otherwise dangerous followers. Kālī and her numerous ectypes came to prominence in this context in the Bhairava Tantras. The unedited *Jayadrathayāmala*, which is said to consist of 24,000 verses, is an important Bhairava Tantra. Dedicated virtually exclusively to the worship of this goddess in numerous forms, it is one of our oldest and most substantial sources of her worship.

[14] sakalakulaśāstrāvatārakatayā prasiddhaḥ | TĀ vol. 1, p.25.

[15] Jayaratha in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka* writes:

. . . it is said that : "just as the stars, although they remain in the sky, do not shine when the sun is present, in the same way the (Śaiva) Siddhāntatantras do not shine in the presence of the Kulāgama. Therefore, nothing apart from the Kula (teachings) can liberate from transmigratory existence." Thus, even though the work about to be expounded (namely, the Tantrāloka) has two aspects because it consists of (an exposition of both the) Kula and the Tantric methods (prakriyā), and because, as the aforementioned reference declares, the Kula method is more fundamental (prādhānya) than other methods, he who has revealed it, the fourth teacher (belonging to this the fourth era, i.e. Matsyendranātha), is praised first in accord with the view (expressed in the following reference):

"Beloved, Bhairavī first obtained (the teachings concerning the practice of) Yoga from Bhairava and so pervaded (the entire universe). Then, fair-faced one, it was obtained from their presence by the Siddha called Mīna, that is, by the great soul, Macchanda (i.e. Matsyendra), in the great seat (mahāpīṭha) of Kāmarūpa." TĀ vol. 1, 24.

If we accept this view to be the correct one, the only major inconsistency with the texts is the location of Uḍḍiyāna. If this place was, as most scholars believe, located in the Swat Valley of northern Pakistan, it is far from the centre of this triangle, where many texts position Uḍḍiyāna. This anomaly is more striking if we compare this standard layout with the one found in the *Niśisaṁcāratantra*. Although it appears that this Tantra has been lost, the reference we have is particularly important because it was chosen by Abhinavagupta who lived in 11th-century Kashmir which, more extensive than today, included Uḍḍiyāna in its outlying north-western provinces. Uḍḍiyāna, also called Oḍḍiyāna, was an extremely important Tantric site. It is still famous in Vajrayāna circles as the land of the great exponent of Vajrayāna in Tibet, Padmasambhava, whom Tibetan historians refer to as a Kashmiri.[18] The site must have been well known to Abhinava as the place where Jñānanetra, the founder of the branch of the Kālī tradition (*kālīkrama*) that was most important for Kashmir Śaivites, was said to have received his revelations.

The layout presented by the *Niśisaṁcāra*, a Bhairava Tantra (see Map 5), gives pride of place to Kāmarūpa as the main sacred seat. Its pre-eminent status is vividly symbolized by deriving it directly from the core of reality as the cosmogonic will (*icchā*), an identification suggested by the first member of its name Kāmarūpa which literally means 'sexual desire'. This assumes the form of the foundation (*ādhāra)* wherein all creation resides and finds its support. This desire emanates the Point (*bindu*) and Sound (*nāda),* which are the breath of the core as its pervasive vitality at rest within itself and in an active state, respectively. Uḍḍiyāna, to the left, is the Point and Pūrṇagiri, to the right, is the Sound. Abhinava rejects the possibility of a fourth seat in the centre, even one that some refer to as a "half (i.e. not fully formed) sacred seat'' (*ardhapīṭha*).[19] This layout also produces a reasonably well-shaped triangle, although it is not equilateral, unlike the one of the first scheme (see Map 1: triangle traced in black). The *Niśisaṁcāra* knows of the existence of Jālandhara but relegates it to the status of a ''secondary sacred site'' (*upasaṁdoha*), along with the borderlands of India, Nepal, Kashmir and ''the direction in which foreigners (live)'' (*mlecchadik)*. Perhaps, when the *Niśisaṁcāra* was redacted, Jālandhara, along with these other places, had not yet gained the importance it was to have later.[20]

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[16] This site greatly impressed the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan tsang, who visited Orissa in the 7th century. From his description it appears that Puṣpagiri was an important Buddhist centre at that time. Unfortunately, the exact location of Puṣpagiri remains uncertain. See Dehejia 1979: 14.

[17] I am grateful to Rana Singh for pointing this out to me. I should take this opportunity to gratefully acknowledge Rana Singh's assistance. His help in making the maps for this paper has been invaluable, as has been his encouragement and scholarly advice on many matters related to pilgrimage studies and the sacred geography of India.

[18] See Dyczkowski 1987: 3 with reference to Nadou 1968: 38. Bakker notes that several locations for Uḍḍiyāna have been suggested. The best known are the Swat Valley in northern Pakistan, Orissa, and a region in Bengal. After briefly examining various views, Bakker opines that "the arguments for the location of Uḍḍiyāna in the Swat Valley seem to be stronger. Actual proof that the Swat Valley was known as Uḍḍiyāna is obtained from Tibetan travellers in the area. The Tibetan name for the Swat Valley was O rgyan or U rgyan, but a Buddhist pilgrim from Tibet, named Buddhagupta, tells us that Tibetan U rgyan is derived from Uḍḍiyāna, on account of the similarity of sound" (Bakker 1983: 54).

Thus, I would tentatively suggest that there are two triangles: an earlier one which did not include Jālandhara and a later one that did. The importance of Uḍḍiyāna would not allow its omission in the later scheme and so it was conveniently placed in the centre to symbolize not its location, but excellence. A more realistic variant found in the Kubjikā Tantras, which lends further credence to the realism of the triangular model, locates Oṁkārapīṭha, that is, the town of Oṁkāreśvara in Madhyapradeśa, in the centre. Although this site is not in the literal geographical centre it does, at least, lie within the triangle.[21]

Let us return to the Kubjikā Tantras to examine in greater detail their symbolic geography of the core reality—the goddess's triangular Yoni. As is the case with Tantric deities in general, one of the fundamental aspects of the goddess Kubjikā is her aniconic form as mantric sound. This is portrayed as the pure dynamic energy from which the universe is generated, of which the universe consists and into which it ultimately is resolved. In this perspective, the Triangle, representing the unified field of universal energy, through which the cycles of existence are perpetuated, consists of the primary energy of the fifty phonemes of the Sanskrit alphabet that together constitute the womb of Mantras. Laid out in a triangular diagram (*prastāra),*[22] called Meru, they are assigned to forty-nine small triangles drawn within the triangle. The conjunct consonant, KṢ, treated as an independent phoneme, is placed below the centre where H is located in the Triangle. The remaining letters are arranged in the diagram in the normal alphabetical order in an anti-clockwise spiral of three and a half turns. This is why Kuṇḍalinī, the inner form of the goddess, is likened to a serpent with three and a half coils. Each letter is worshipped as a Bhairava or a Siddha. Each one of them lives in his own compartment that is itself a Yoni, said to be ''wet'' with the divine Command (*ājñā)* of the energy of the transmission that takes place through the union they enjoy with their female counterparts. The sacrality of sacred sites is derived from such hierogamies and so each compartment corresponds to a sacred site where these Siddhas are said to reside, practise and teach. These sites have been plotted on Maps 1 and 2. The source of the first map is a commentary on parts of the *Manthānabhairava Tantra* and the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṁhitā*. The second map presents a secondary variant drawn from the *Ambāmatasaṁhitā*[23] which, like the previous source, belongs to the corpus of the Kubjikā Tantras I have edited from manuscripts. In the Kumārikākhaṇḍa of the *Manthānabhairava Tantra* the goddess is said to visit these fifty places.[24] Before doing so, she utters a hymn praising the four sacred seats along with another, fifth one, identified as Trisrota (site 11 on Map 1) which, she says, will be the sacred seat of a future revelation.[25] This statement suggests to the modern scholar that the place was already a sacred site and that it was one of such special importance for the initiates of the Kubjikā Tantras that they integrated it, somewhat haphazardly, into the older scheme that enjoyed a high degree of prestige in other Tantric traditions also. Another source informs us that the order in which the letters are placed within the triangular diagram (*varṇanyāsa*) corresponds to the sequence (*gati*) of the sacred seats. And this is, indeed, the order in which they are listed in the Kumārikākhaṇḍa[26] of the *Manthānabhairavatantra* as the places the goddess converts into sacred sites (*āyatana, tīrtha, saṁdoha*) by visiting and casting her empowering gaze upon them in one of her colonizing rounds of India.

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[19] A ''half sacred seat'' *(ardhapīṭha)* added on to the three main ones appears also in the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* (Bagchi: 24). There it is called Arbuda which is the Sanskrit name of what is now a sacred site especially for the Jains, namely, Mount Abu in Rajasthan.

[20] Largely on the basis of these references, Dvivedi states in his introduction to the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* (p. 81) that there were originally three primary seats, not four. This view is examined and rejected by Bakker (1993: 50-2).

[21] See *Ambāmatasaṁhitā*, fols. 10b-11a, where Oṁkāra replaces Uḍḍiyāṇa.

[22] The word *prastāra* simply means 'grid' or 'diagram'. This term is used in this sense in other types of Sanskrit texts as well. Thus, for example, Sanskrit musicological texts use this term to denote a diagram or ''graph'' (as Lath calls it) on which the notes and *śruti*s are schematically represented. ''The *vṛtti* on the *Bṛhaddeśī* speaks of three ways of representing the *śruti* and *svara* positions within a *grāma*. These were known as the three *prastāra*s: (1) the *daṇḍaprastāra* (2) the *vīṇāprastāra* and (3) the *maṇḍalaprastāra*'' (Lath 1988: 74).

Just as the goddess Kubjikā moves around India to establish her sacred sites, she also moves through this Triangle—the Yoni—which is her own body—the Body of Energy (*kulapiṇḍa*)—sanctifying its parts by filling them with the energy of empowerment (*ājñā*). Although the texts do not say so explicitly, they imply that the triangular land of Bhārata is just that Portion of the Virgin Goddess.[27]

At the same time this, the female body, is that of the core reality; conversely, its complement, the outer body, is male. This relationship is established to allow for the exteriorization of the letters and so, by extension, the sacred sites onto the surface of the body. In this case, the Triangle contains the goddesses of the female form of the alphabet, which is itself a goddess called Mālinī (lit. 'Garlanded One', i.e. the goddess who wears the Garland of Letters). The figure of a standing man identified with a form of Bhairava called Śrīkaṇṭha (who is the guardian of the first letter of the alphabet) is the male form of the alphabet called Śabdarāśi—

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[23] *Ambāmatasaṁhitā*, fol. 13a.

[24] The variants in the list found in the *ṭīkā* and the KuKh (6/212-8) have been noted in Appendix 2.

[25] These are the standard four with the addition of Tisra, also called Trisrota, as the fifth. This may well be the same as Mataṅgapīṭha mentioned in the KMT as a fifth "pervasive" sacred seat which, as such, has no separate location. In the account found in the KuKh (chapter six), the consort of the goddess is Mataṅga. The goddess would therefore be Mataṅgī, which may account for its alternative name. This is the sacred seat of the future revelation. Thus the goddess says to the god: "*I have told you, O handsome one, of this, the descent (into the world) of the (four) sacred seats. (Moreover, I) anticipate that Tisrapīṭha will be the future fifth one.*" (KuKh 6/187). The latter is symbolically located above the triangle formed by the other four seats in the form of a point "above the half Moon." This sacred seat has emerged on top of the triangular Yoni, above the Half Moon. The supreme Kālī, who illumines divine knowledge, is located there. The original triangle, which is the shape of the letter E, is thus converted into the mantric syllable AIṀ.

[26] KuKh 6/212-8.

[27] We read in the Kumārikākhaṇḍa of the *Manthānabhairava Tantra* that "*there are sacred sites (āyatana and other sacred places), tīrthas and saṁdohas, wherever the goddess went and wherever she cast her gaze. The mother of Kula established her fame in the land of Bhārata (in this way), and so the meritorious and holy Region of the Virgin (kaumārikākhaṇḍa) came into being*" (KuKh 6/219-20).

the Aggregate of Words. This is the male Person (*puruṣa*) who resides within Nature identified, by implication, with the Triangle. In this way the Triangle with the letters it contains, the Bhairavas that preside over them, and the places that symbolically enshrine their energies can be projected onto the body (see Fig. 2).

An interesting consequence of these symbolic associations is that the letters that are extracted from the Triangle to form Mantras are not only pervasive sounds and deities, but also places. Accordingly, we occasionally find in the Kubjikā Tantras that the letters extracted from the triangular diagram to form Mantras are labelled with the name of the place to which they correspond in the grid. In this perspective, this means that Mantras are interiorizations of sacred places. This startling symbolic association is the result of an important principle, namely, that each deity must be associated with a place in order to be effectively immanent and hence an object of the worship by which it is propitiated to bestow its gifts. Thus the deities of the letters of a Mantra, which is the sonic icon of its presiding deity, in order to be effective and hence render the Mantra effective, must carry along within themselves their own divine locations.

We should note before proceeding further that the first two maps are derived from two substantially different lists of the fifty sites collocated in the triangle. The first is found in the Kumārikākhanda of the *Manthānabhairavatantra*. This is the same list, with minor variants, as the one in the *Manthānabhairava Ṭīkā.*[28] The other list is found in the *Ambāmatasaṁhitā*. The Triangle with its fifty compartments is described in the earliest Tantra of the Kubjikā school, the *Kubjikāmata*, but it does not equate them with sacred places. Conversely, the fifty places listed as a group in the Kumārikākhanda are not related to this Triangle in that text. The section of the *Ṭīkā* which presents this group of fifty sites and equates them with the letters placed in the Triangle is not presented as a commentary on any specifically named text, but examination of the contents of the *Ṭīkā* clearly establishes that it postdates the Kumārikākhanda. We can therefore safely conclude that this group of fifty sites was introduced after the redaction of the KMT and was subsequently fitted into the Triangle formed by the four primary sacred seats that is already highly elaborated in the KMT. Although the list of fifty sites found in the *Ambāmatasaṁhitā* is similar, it is substantially different from this one, not just a variant. It presents an ulterior elaboration of this scheme and so can be safely assumed to postdate the Kumārikākhanda. The fact that the number of places listed makes exactly fifty clearly indicates that they have been compiled and standardized for a specific purpose and are not simply lists of sacred sites.

That the list in the Kumārikākhanda, in particular, is a standard one is confirmed by the fact that it appears, with just a few variants entries, in the *Yoginīhṛdaya,* which is an important Tantra of the Tripurā cult. All of these texts are certainly prior to the 12th century. As we have noted already, the KMT belongs to at least the 10th century. The sophistication of the *Yoginīhṛdaya* which contains many notions elaborated by Kashmiri Śaivites between the 9th and 11th centuries leads one to suppose that it may well have been compiled in that period. Anyway, it is certainly older than Amṛtānanda, who was its first known commentator. He lived in South India in the 13th century. Another indication of its relatively recent origin is its high degree of domestication. The liturgy centred on the worship of Śrīcakra that it expounds can be performed entirely in one place—at home, in a temple or monastery—by a householder or non-itinerant ascetic. Unlike the Kubjikā Tantras and Abhinava's *Tantrāloka*, it makes no provisions at all for the possibility of any real peregrination to these sites, not even as a secondary alternative or along with their projection on the body. Thus, as in the *Tantrāloka*, in which Abhinava, a master of the theory and practice of interiorization, expounds a thoroughly domesticated cult, the projection of these sacred sites onto the body is of relatively minor importance.

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[28] This text, which I have edited, is a commentary compiled by a certain Rūpaśiva on scattered chapters of the Kubjikā Tantras. Several sections are simply wholesale copies of the commentary on various chapters of the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṁhitā*. This important text is an expanded version in 6,000 verses of the *Kubjikāmatatantra* consisting of 3,500 verses. For a table comparing the contents of these two texts see Schoterman 1982: 14f.

According to the liturgy of the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, the placing of the fifty seats on the body is the sixth of a sixfold projection onto the body that is done right at the beginning of the rite. The first of these depositions is that of fifty Gaṇeśas, one for each letter of the alphabet. This is done to remove obstacles to the performance of the rite. Then comes a deposition of the nine planets and twenty-seven constellations (*nakṣatra*). The six Yoginīs presiding over the six Wheels (*cakra*) within the body come next. They govern the gross elements and mind along with the physical constituents of the body (*dhātu*). They are accompanied by an entourage of fifty yoginīs who govern the fifty letters of the alphabet, the phonemic equivalents of the forces within the Wheels that operate within the adept's cosmic body. Once the inner, subtle body has been energized in this way, the fifth deposition is performed, which is that of the twelve signs of the zodiac (*rāśi*). Thus, the outer body has been freed of obstacles, transformed into the universe, and its central vitalizing axis is energized. Finally, this process is completed by the projection of the fifty sacred sites, corresponding to the letters, onto the surface of this cosmic body. In this way, the body is prepared as a pure, cosmic and energized surface of inscription onto which the adept projects the Śrīcakra in which he will worship and become one with his deity. Thus Śrīcakra is drawn on the whole of the sacred land of Bhārata, which is set in the spheres of the cosmic forces with which it is vitally linked and forms an essential part.

From the point of view of the present inquiry, there is one important feature of this group of fifty places. Not only are the individual places the same as those found in the Kubjikā Tantras, but the order in which they are listed is such that when they are projected onto a triangular grid in the manner prescribed in the Kubjikā Tantras, we find the main sacred seats—Kāmarūpa, Jālandhara, Pūrṇagiri and Uḍḍiyāna—in the corners and centre, in the way noted above. The Śrīvidyā system does not know of this grid and so this serial order is of no consequence for it. This leads one to suppose that the group has been lifted wholesale from the Kubjikā Tantras or a common source. However, such a possibility would only be a feasible option if other early Tantric systems had the same grid as the one found in the Kubjikā Tantras, which make extensive use of it, and others like it, to extract the letters of their mantras. Up to now none has been found. If then we accept the Kubjikā Tantras as its source, we can say that this part of the *Yoginīhṛdaya* postdates those Kubjikā Tantras where this grid is elaborated. This ascertainment is not central to our inquiry. What is is that it appears that by that time this set had been instituted as a standard one. This suggests that by the 10th or 11th century pilgrimage by Tantric initiates to these sites was already becoming redundant, if it was not already totally so. What remained was the projection onto the body and other techniques of transposition that served, amongst other things, as a means of purifying the adept. We have seen how this worked in the case of the Tantric system taught in the *Yoginīhṛdaya*; let us now return to the *Niśisaṁcāratantra*, and see how it functions there.

Abhinava chooses this as his source for the sacred sites that are projected onto the body of the neophyte as a part of the preliminary rites of purification that form the prelude to the rite of initiation. This deposition is performed immediately after the ritual bathing and precedes the very important deposition of the letters onto the body. Abhinava is following a model already formed for him in the Tantras themselves. The projection of the sacred sites onto the body serves to transform it into a sacred universe, the geography of which is marked by these sacred sites. We have already noted that according to the *Niśisaṁcāra* the ultimate goddess site (*pīṭha*) is Śiva's will, which is identified with the most important sacred seat, namely, Kāmarūpa. The cosmogonic Sound (*nāda*) and the primordial, dimensionless Point (*bindu*) from which the cosmic process unfolds are the sacred seats of Pūrṇagiri and Uḍḍiyāna. Similarly, the three subsidiary seats (*upapīṭha*) are said to be Kuṇḍalinī and the first derivatives of Sound and the Point. Externally, these three correspond to Devīkoṭa, Kollāgiri, and Ujjayinī. This is followed by another triad, that of the three *Saṁdohakas*.[29] These are the sense of taste (*lalanā*, lit. 'the tongue'), a tertiary derivation of the Point (*bindu*) and Pervasion (*vyāpti*), from which sacred energy emanates. These correspond to Puṇḍravardhana, Vārendra and Ekāmra, respectively. Around these three triads, arranged on the eight petals of the "lotus of the heart," are twenty-four more sacred places. They are eight primary sacred fields (*kṣetra*), eight secondary ones (*upakṣetra*) and eight secondary *saṁdohas*. These three groups are located on the main part of the petals, the tips and joints between them, respectively.

A similar grouping in three sets of eight and projection onto a lotus in a similar way is known to the Kubjikā Tantras. This developed from an original set of twenty-four sites presented without internal differentiation.[30] These are the twenty-four sites of the *Kubjikāmatatantra* plotted on Map 6. It is, I believe, very significant that these twenty-four places are, apart from a few minor variants, the same as those listed in the Mādhavakula section of the *Jayadrathayāmala* quoted by Abhinavagupta. Not only are the entries in the two lists virtually the same, they are practically in the same order.[31] This coincidence tells us that when these Tantras were redacted, these places were already considered to be a standard group by at least these two traditions, one centred on the goddess Kubjikā and the other on the goddess Kālī as taught in the JY. It would be a mistake, therefore, to think of this sacred geography as being specific to any one school. The close association between the obscure goddess Kubjikā and Kālī, still maintained in the Śākta Tantrism of the Newars, and attested in numerous ways in the Kubjikā Tantras, thus finds further confirmation. Indeed, the edition and detailed analysis of the Tantras of other related schools will most probably reveal that these were places sacred to all, if not most, other Kaula and Bhairava Tantric systems.

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[29] The terms *saṁdoha* and *upasaṁdoha* are of uncertain derivation. They are also found in Buddhist Tantras in this or a similar form (such as *chandoha*). See HT 1/7/10-8. Jayaratha, the commentator on the *Tantrāloka*, derives the term from the root *saṁduh*, meaning to milk, suck, or ooze (milk). Thus he says that "*a saṁdohaka (is what has been milked) because it consists mainly of the exuded secretion of the secondary seats*" (saṁdohaketi upapīṭhaniḥsyandaprāyatvāt TĀ vol. VI p. 2,489).

[30] It appears that apart from the grouping together of the most important seats, Kāmarūpa and the rest, the division of other such sites into separate subsets is neither uniform nor significant.

[31] The entries and their order coincide in the two lists up to the eighth entry in the *Jayadrathayāmala* list, namely, Śrīpīṭha. The KMT lists Śrīkoṭa. That this is another name for Devīkoṭa is confirmed by the corresponding entry in the list found in the commentary on the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṁhitā* (25/8). Eḍābhī, the tenth entry in the list, corresponds to Airuḍī in the KMT. But these appear to be two names for the same place, namely, Eruṇḍī. The next entry, Hālā, which Jayaratha glosses as Alipura, replaces Hastināpura in the KMT's list. The following entry in the KMT, that is, the twelfth, is Elāpura; this is the sixteenth entry according to the JY. The next entry according to the JY is Gokarṇa. The corresponding entry in the KMT is Kāśmarī, which is another name for Gokarṇa. According to the commentary on the ṢaṭSS mentioned above, this place is called Narmadā Gokarṇa while the KMT states that the goddess of Kāśmarī is Gokarṇā, which further confirms this identification. The following entry in the edited text of the KMT is Marudeśa. The corresponding entry in the JY, according to the printed edition of the *Tantrāloka* that quotes it, is Marukośa. This is a mistake for Marukeśa. The corresponding entry in the commentary in the ṢaṭSS, Marukeśvara, confirms this. The next entry in the printed edition of the KMT is Caitrakaccha, but some manuscripts read Nagar, which is the same as the corresponding entry in the JY. The corresponding entry in the commentary on the ṢaṭSS is Bhṛgunagara. The seventeenth entry in the KMT reads Parastīra; the equivalent entry in the JY is Purastīra, which is the correct

The formation of standard sets renders their individual members easily amenable to assimilation to cosmic principles and interiorization. Let us trace the stages of this development in the case of these twenty-four sites in the Kubjikā Tantras to observe the way this process operates.

The KMT prescribes the worship of these places as atonement for inadvertently omitting some part of the worship of Kubjikā's main Maṇḍala. Such omissions are transgressions of the Rule (*samaya*), as a result of which the adept's strength fails (*glāni*) and obstacles afflict him. Worshipping these sacred places along with the goddesses who reside there, their weapons and the protectors of the field (*kṣetrapāla*) can purify the adept who has thus sullied himself. It seems that a literal pilgrimage is enjoined here because the Tantra goes on to say that if the adept cannot do this or is lazy, he can purify himself by simply praising the sacred seats.[32] The worship of these and other sites is a regular feature of all Kaula ritual. It is a major feature of the Kubjikā Tantras which, therefore, contain many such hymns dedicated to the sacred seats. In this case this means reciting the verses in the Tantra in which these twenty-four places are listed in the morning just after getting up or before going to sleep. The Tantra promises that even if the initiate has committed terrible sins, he is respected (*sammata*) by the Mothers (*mātṛkā*) who reside there.

Moreover, the adept can recite the hymn when he is in the sacrificial area where the rites of the goddess are performed, in front of Kubjikā's Maṇḍala, her icon, or a Liṅga. He may also recite it standing in water when he makes his ablutions. In this way, we are told, calamities, poison, fire, water or disease does not overcome him.[33]

The Tantra supplies an alternative, more elaborate, method of worshipping these places if the adept is overcome by great fear (*mahābhaya*). To remedy his distress, he should fashion twenty-four circles (*maṇḍala*). These are divided into four groups of six, one group for each direction starting with the east. Flowers of various colours are offered—in the east white, south yellow, west red, and north dark blue. A jar full of water is placed in the centre. A lamp

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spelling. This is followed by Pṛṣṭhāpura in the KMT, missing in the JY. The next variant is the nineteenth entry in the KMT, Kuhudī (comm. ṢaṭSS: Kuhuṇḍī); this corresponds to Kuḍyākeśī in the JY. Then come Sopāna in JY and Sopāra in the KMT. Sopāna is a mistaken reading and so Sopāra is the same in both lists. This entry is followed by Kṣīrika and Māyāpurī in that order, according to the KMT, and in the reverse order according to the JY. The final entry in the KMT is Rājagṛha; this is the penultimate one in the JY's list, which ends with Śrīśaila (according to the *Kulakramodaya* quoted by Jayaratha in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka* [Vol. VII, p. 3334], the Mātṛkā Brahmāṇī was worshipped at this important site). This fact was apparently so well known that Abhinava calls this place Vairiñcī, the place of the goddess Viriñcī, that is, Brahmāṇī.

[32] KMT 22/18-22.

[33] *Ibid.* 22/47-54ab.

is placed in each of the twenty-four circles. The adept should then move around through these replications of the sacred seats in due order. He should do this for a day and a night. Having passed the night keeping himself well under control, he should then make offerings of meat and wine (technically called *vīrabhojya*). Then he should propitiate the sacred seats, prostrating before them repeatedly. In this way he is freed of his fear along with other impediments and diseases. The Tantra promises that he will quickly attain success and become wealthy. If he is celibate, he will get a good wife and sons, and if he is a student, knowledge.[34] Finally, we may note that the name of the chapter of the *Kubjikāmata* where this is taught is appropriately called "the Pervasion of the Whole and the Parts."

The *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṁhitā* presents an interesting interiorization of this replication of the twenty-four sites. In this Tantra they figure as the components of the Wheel of the Sun, which, along with those of Fire and Moon, are the three forms of the Wheel of the Skyfaring Goddesses (*khecarīcakra*) located in the throat in the Wheel of Purity (*viśuddhicakra*).[35] They are divided into three groups, according to whether they are primary or secondary Sacred Fields (*kṣetra*, *upakṣetra*) or meeting grounds (*saṁdoha*). The sites are arranged on the petals of the lotus in four groups of six. There are two sacred fields on the first two petals. Then there are two secondary sacred fields on the next two petals and two meeting grounds on the following two. The remaining three groups of six are placed on the remaining petals in serial order in the same way.

These twenty-four places, arranged in this way on the petals of the lotus, correspond to the twenty-four principles of existence (*tattva*) ranging from Earth to Nature (*prakṛti*). Thus a connection is made with the principles of existence that constitute the whole of empirical reality, not just the body. The pilgrimage to the sacred places takes the adept around the manifest universe. The stops on the journey are linked in a developing progression, which is at the same time, in a seemingly paradoxical manner, circular. When he reaches the upper extremity, he continues beyond from the beginning again. In this perspective, there is no descent, only a continuous rising up through the spheres of manifestation from gross to subtle and subtle to gross.[36]

The establishment of a sacred geography externally and its subsequent systematic interiorization is an essential part of the formation of the complex of symbolic forms and their dynamic interaction that constitute the distinctive features of the Tantric system expounded in the Kubjikā Tantras. The goddess establishes a sacred geography to delineate her specific worldly domain and so colonize site, city, region, country and the world through her descent from the transcendent. She thereby spreads the teachings concerning her and the geography thus established and internalized in her Tantric system. In this system, as in most others of its kind, time and location serve as the prerequisites for the delineation of the specific entities that lend their identity to the energies, which are internally configured so as to replicate their concrete, external existence in ideally perfect geometric patterns and regular rhythms. These geometries and rhythms constitute the system in its complexity and, hence, its spiritual transformative power. Specific forms, places and time thus become ideal ciphers that mark the configuration and development of Abstract Transcendent Reality, which becomes immanent at first as sacred geometries within the divine consciousness of the deity so as to constitute its Body of Energies (*kulapiṇḍa*), the latter then being replicated in the body of the adept.[37] This then is the intermediate reality that is vitalized by the universal, abstract energy from the upper transcendent reality. This energy flows out to the chaotic configurations of outer concrete entities that, by lending this energy their forms, concretize the transcendent, rendering it amenable to approach. In this way they become intelligible because they are no longer perceived as disconnected phenomena but as parts of a greater abstract Whole which is a meaningful, albeit, complex, system.

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[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Chapter 25 of the ṢaṭSS opens with a beautiful description of this Wheel. Bhairava says to the goddess:

> *O fair-faced one! I will (now) tell (you about) the great wheel of the Skyfaring Goddesses. (Shaped like a lotus), its sprouts are the worlds and it is adorned with the parts of Mantras (pada) as its leaves. It is strewn with letters that are (its) thorns and (its) holes are Mantras. Divine, it is fashioned with the threads of the cosmic forces (kalā) and, (resting) on the knots which are the principles of existence (tattva), it is firm. Possessing twenty-four petals, it extends for billions (of leagues). In the middle of the ocean of the Void (vyoman), it looks like blue collyrium. Shining like a thousand suns, its radiant energy is like the Fire of Time.* (ṢaṭSS 25/2-5ab)

[36] This material has been drawn from ṢaṭSS 25/2-9. Here is, it seems to me, a fine example of how pilgrimage is conceived. The pilgrim's route, rather than being a representation of the Path to Liberation, which would be straight, is more of the nature of a circumambulation of sacred space. This is done not to achieve liberation but to propitiate the deities of the sacred space and gain benefits thereby.

Accordingly, the root Tantra of the Kubjikā cult begins by delineating this sacred geography and in so doing explains the origins of the goddess herself. This starts from the goddess's land of origin, the *Santānabhuvana*—the World of the Lineage. This is presented as the ''outside world'' of myth. Its three peaks, arranged in a triangle, enclose an idyllic land behind the Himalaya[38] to the west of Meru.[39] Internally this is located at the top of the Twelve Finger Space above the head (see Fig. 4). This is the hermitage of Himavān, who receives Bhairava with such devotion that the god grants him a number of boons.[40] Himavān, by way of recompense, introduces Bhairava to his daughter, the virgin (*kumārikā*) Kālikā who asks him to be the deity she worships. Bhairava responds by imparting to her a vision of the universe and insight into the energy that sustains it.

This is the divine Command (*ājñā*) that was transmitted through the six lineages of the six accomplished adepts (*siddha*) who were the disciples of Matsyendranātha, who, as we have seen, is the legendary founder of Kaulism in this age.[41] The places where the six disciples received initiation and whence they spread the teachings are listed in Tantras of different schools.[42] These places clearly belong to the geography of the early Kaula Tantras. Moreover, each disciple is also linked with a village and a sacred grove.[43] Unfortunately, these places have not yet been identified. This is certainly because of their local character, reflecting the close relationship these pan-Indian Sanskritic traditions had with local and regional traditions. A twofold process of domestication and interiorization marks the transition from one to the other.

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[37] The KMT explains that the teaching concerning the Body of Energies (*kulapiṇḍa*) is the practice of the Sequence of the Sacred Seats and the Body (*piṇḍa*). It is present in the world of men, as is the goddess (KMT 1/53).

[38] KMT 1/2, ṢaṭSS 1/6.

[39] ṢaṭSS 1/27a. The western direction noted here may possibly be connected with characterization of the Kubjikā cult as the Western Tradition.

[40] KMT 1/24f.

[41] This is what the *Kubjikāmata* calls the ''previous tradition'' (*pūrvāmnāya*). This Tantra maintains that by the time of its redaction, this tradition had decayed and so required the establishment of a new, subsequent and definitive one. This is the Kubjikā cult that is appropriately called *Paścimāmnāya* meaning 'the last and final tradition'.

Bhairava goes on to tell the goddess that her power will manifest itself in the land of the Virgin Goddess (Kumārikā), namely, India. He tells her that until she has established her authority in India—the land of Bhārata—there can be no union with him. He then disappears telling her to go to Mount Kaumāra.[44] She abandons her companions and, in order to seek her god, she goes to the Mountain of the Moon, which she ascends, there to assume the form of a Liṅga in which the entire universe is enveloped. The god now begins to worship the Liṅga, called Udyānabhairava, and asks the goddess to abandon her unmanifest form. Accordingly, the goddess bursts apart the Liṅga and emerges out of it.[45] Then the goddess promises to impart the teachings to the god. This she does in the various places she now proceeds to visit, where she imparts the teachings to the resident Siddha, an aspect of Bhairava, by "sporting" (sexually) with him. In this way she generates spiritual sons and daughters that make up her lineage.

The first place the goddess visits is the Kula mountain. This is Śrīparvata, called Kumāra. When the goddess looks at it, Śrī, the goddess of royal power and wealth, suddenly becomes manifest, so it is called Śrīśaila. She draws a line on the ground with her toe and so creates a river that serves as a boundary. She establishes (the goddess) Chāyā there and gives her the command that whoever enters that sacred area will be her equal. The goddess continues her journey to Mount Trikūṭa and then to Mount Kiṣkindha. In these places she gives the power of her command and graces the demons who protect them (*rākṣasa*). She then goes to the shore of the ocean, where she stands for a while, and so there she is Kanyākumārī. Then, having graced the ocean, she goes to a cave called Daradaṇḍi. There the goddess assumes the form of Shade (*chāyādharī*), her mind set on the Unmanifest.

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[42] Two have been compared, namely, a source belonging to the Kubjikā Tantras and the *Kulakrīḍāvatāra* that is quoted by Abhinavagupta in the *Tantrāloka,* and they have been found to agree. See Map 10.

[43] See Appendix 3 for a table displaying this information.

[44] KMT 1/48-54. In the ṢaṭSS this place is identified with Śrīśaila, which is the sacred seat of Mātaṅga. Internally, it the trunk of the body up to the neck.

[45] KMT 2/3. The theme of the goddess emerging from the Liṅga is well known. In the *Devīmāhātmya* of the *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa* Mahāmāyā "rent open the Śiva Liṅga and came forth." The same is stated in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (76/83-93). A similar conception, namely that this primordial energy comes from the Person (*puruṣa*) is found in the Bhagavadgītā (15/4). The idea is well known to the Śaivasiddhānta, according to which spheres of energy (*kalā*) emerge from the Liṅga. Śrīcakra is also worshipped in association with the Liṅga and is sometimes even drawn on it. Banerjee (1974: 508) tells us that a "unique image was discovered in the ruins of Vikrampur, within the limits of the ancient capital of the Senas and their predecessors, in the quarter of the town known as Kagajipara." He goes on to descibe it as "four feet in height. It shows in its lower part a well-carved Śivaliṅga, from the top of which emerges the half-length figure of a four-armed goddess with her front hands in the *dhyānamudrā*, the back hands carrying a rosary and a manuscript. The Devī is profusely ornamented, and her beautifully carved youthful face with three eyes has a serene meditative expression." It is reproduced in Plate XLV, 2 of Banerjee's book. He identifies it as Mahāmāyā. The iconography Banerjee describes corresponds to that of the goddess Parā. Although this figure may not be that of the goddess Kubjikā, who is frequently identified with both Parā and Mahāmāyā, she could well be depicted in this way.

She then goes a long distance to the western Himagahvara. The forest goddess (*vanapallikā*[46]) Olambikā resides there. The goddess is pleased and declares that this place is called Uḍḍiyāna because she flew up into the sky there.[47] She resides there in the Kṛta Age along with her consort Uḍḍamaheśa, who is Mitrānanda, a founder of the Kubjikā tradition. There, she is called Raktacāmuṇḍā.[48] She then goes to Karāla. The place is said to be brilliant with radiant energy; it is therefore renamed Jālandhara, the place of the flame—*jvāla*. The burning radiance of the goddess's flames has been awakened and she sees countless marvelous creations like those produced by magic (*indrajāla,* here too, apparently, an etymology is implied). She wonders what this marvelous creation is. She is told that although she has fallen because of the god's great energy, she has not fled from it and so she is addressed as the one who extends the net (*jāla*) of Māyā. She is told that she will be given lordship over Jālandhara. In this role she is called Karālī and her consort in the Tretā Age is Siddhakauṇḍalī.[49]

The goddess then goes to the great forest called Sahya. There, she fills the three worlds with the flames of her halo and is called Caṇḍākṣī. As all things are filled this way, she is addressed as one who is ''full'' of all things (*pūrṇarūpiṇī*). By virtue of the Yoga (*viṣuvayoga*) by which she has done all this, she becomes the mistress of the mountain which is identified with Pūrṇagiri. Her authority is exerted at the end of the Dvāpara Age. Her consort is Cakrānanda.[50] The goddess then goes to a place called Kāmika. There is a river there called Ucchuṣmā, there in the forest of Mahocchuṣma. In the same forest there are two lakes. One is called Mahāhrada and the other Nīla. Here the Great Goddess again meets the local goddess, who is ''melting with passion and melts the three worlds with (her) desire.'' Kubjikā is pleased to see her and names her Kāmeśvarī—the 'Mistress of Passion'. She explains that the nature of the sacred seat where Kāmeśvarī resides is her passion itself (*kāmarūpa*) and so this place is the sacred seat Kāmarūpa where the goddess Kāmeśvarī resides in the Age of Strife (*kaliyuga*). Her consort will be Candrānanda. Seated on the Wind and passionate, he is Kāmadeva—the God of Love, himself. This completes the formation of the four main sacred seats common to all traditions.[51]

The god goes on to talk of a fifth sacred seat (associated with the Kula of Mātaṅga) which is located in the northern part of Lake Nīla in the forest of Mahocchuṣma, located in Madhyadeśa. The whole universe is generated from it. This sacred seat is said to be located in the middle, above the sacred seat of Kāma. It is filled with three streams (*srotas*), and so the goddess there is Trisrotā and her form is that of a river.[52] Presumably, this place is the Trisrota referred to previously.

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[46] Alternatively, a *vanapallikā* may be a small village in the jungle.

[47] uḍḍitā yena aṅgribhyāṁ tenedaṁ uḍḍiyānakam | KMT 2/40cd.

[48] *Ibid.* 2/40-9.

[49] *Ibid.* 2/50-63ab.

[50] *Ibid.* 2/63cd-81.

[51] *Ibid.* 2/82-100.

The goddess then goes to the eight places where the Eight Mothers (*mātṛkā*) are located (see Map 7). Not only Tantric meeting grounds (*saṁdoha*) but also sacred bathing places (*tīrtha*) are created wherever the goddess goes and casts her gaze. The virgin goddess—Kumārikā—thus spreads her fame throughout the land of Bhārata, so that it becomes a veritable part of the goddess (*kumārikākhaṇḍa*).[53]

Once she has completed her journey around India she can unite with the god. We are told that this takes place repeatedly. The god of the previous lineage gives the goddess the command to travel around India, and then when she returns to the same place she couples with the god who is the Great Lord of Oḍra (Orissa?). He again tells her to travel around India and then to return to the sacred seat of Uḍḍa (Orissa?) where she should create the universe repeatedly countless times. Then the god disappeared in an instant.

It appears at first sight that the goddess is travelling all around India to visit the major Śākta sites. In fact the story of this pilgrimage records, at least from when she reaches Himagahvara, the local replication of pan-Indian sites, especially the most important of them for the Kaula and Bhairava Tantras—the four sacred seats. The phenomenon of replication, which is fundamental to Purāṇic sacred geography, is no less so in its Tantric counterpart. Thus the goddess reveals various aspects of herself in the places she visits and thereby replicates the location where this aspect is present in the macrocosmic India. She also infuses the local goddess with her power as the Great Pan-Indian Goddess and so, as the Śakti of śakti, she becomes her essential nature. Another important feature of her colonizing tour is the hierogamies that take place in the individual places with aspects of the male deity, embodied in the adept who resides there. These unions, which are the source of the spiritual power of these places, generate the goddess's spiritual offspring, who form what the texts variously call a household (*gṛha*), lineage (*anvaya*, *santati*) or clan (*gotra*) through which the teaching is transmitted.

A further development in the definition of the location of these places took place in the *Ṣatsāhasrasaṁhitā*, where they are projected onto the head. This has been graphically represented in Figure 4. Worth noting is the position of the four major sacred seats, Uḍḍiyāna (also called Uḍra) in the ears, Jālandhara in the mouth, Pūrṇagiri in the uvula and Kāmarūpa in the eyes. This is because, the Tantra tells us, these four seats manifest when the goddess wishes to hear, speak, thrive and see, respectively. Sacred place is thus interiorized into the cognitive processes and metabolism. Two rivers flow from the Mahocchuṣma Forest located in the Cavity of Brahmā at the top of the head into the two lakes represented by the eyes. Above the Cavity of Brahmā is an inverted pyramid that resonates with a series of energies culminating with the Transmental (*unmanī*) at the base of the pyramid. Thus the rivers that flow from the Cavity of Brahmā represent the flow of spiritualizing energy that vitalizes sight.

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[52] *Ibid.* 2/101-11.

[53] *Ibid.* 2/118.

The culmination of this sacred geography is the upper triangle that forms the base of the pyramid, (see Fig. 5). This triangle is significantly equated with a place called Candrapura, which the texts tell us is the "home of the Paścima (i.e. Kubjikā Tantra)" (*pascimagṛha*), and so is represented as the Vulva (*yoni*) of the goddess which is this tradition (*paścimāmnāya*) itself. This interiorized representation of place is typical of the innumerable references to Candrapura, variously interiorized and otherwise used as a key symbol in the Kubjikā Tantras. The triangle emanates a circle called the Seat of Yoga (*yogapīṭha*), and this latter is identified with the main Maṇḍala of the Kubjikā Tantras, namely, the Saṁvartāmaṇḍala. This is an interiorization of two locations. One is Candraparvata (the Mountain of the Moon) and the other is Candradvīpa (the Island of the Moon). Candraśīlā (the Moon Rock) is in the centre and within it is Candraguhā (the Cave of the Moon). All these "places"—mountain, island, rock, and cave—are linked with the goddess.

No less frequent is the association the later Kubjikā Tantras make between the goddess and the land of Koṅkaṇa.[54] This is a long strip of land along the western coast of India known as the Western Ghāṭs (see Map 2) that includes, in its southern part, the area nowadays familiar as Goa. Candrapura, located in the north of this region, was for several hundred years, up to the middle of the 11th century, the capital of Koṅkana. This place is now called Chandor and is located in what is now west-central Mahārāṣṭra.

We know of another Candrapura that fits the description found in the earliest Kubjikā Tantra, the *Kubjikāmata*. This was an important town in what is now the Garwal district of the western Himalaya. Not far from it is a mountain called Candraparvata (the Mountain of the Moon) which the Kubjikā Tantras frequently relate to the goddess.[55] Moreover, the erratic identification of these places at times with Candradvīpa, further confuses the picture. Candradvīpa is an island in the Bay of Bengal well known as the place where, according to a myth familiar to most early Kaula schools,[56] including the Kubjikā Tantras, Matsyendranātha overheard Śiva teaching Kaula doctrine to his consort. The similarity of these names, the prestige of these places and the strong lunar qualities of the goddess may have combined to create a composite mythical location made up of the combined replication of these three places. Despite the confusion created by the possible incorporation of more than one physical location into the mythical characterization of Candrapura, it would make sense if the places mentioned in the goddess's local tour, especially the part in which the four sacred seats are replicated, were to be in a (possibly extensive) region around the ancient Candrapura in the Garhwal district. This is more likely than the area around Chandor because the former location is the one that corresponds best to the description found in the *Kubjikāmata* which is the earliest text containing an account of the goddess's tour. Perhaps a study of the local *Māhātmyas* of this area will confirm this hypothesis.

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[54] Thus, for example, the Kumārikākhaṇḍa of the *Manthānabhairavatantra* declares:

Again, the Mother known as Kamalā (Lotus) descended (to earth) in Koṅkaṇa. That, indeed, is authority made clearly manifest in Koṅkaṇa. (KuKh 17/43cd-44)

[55] See Dyczkowski 2001.

[56] See introduction to Bagchi 1934.

But whether these places can be located or not, the fact that the projections onto the head taught by the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṁhitā* produce the forced symmetry they do is an indication of the original, external existence of these places. Thus compare and contrast the projection of the four main sacred seats along the axis of the body up to the neck,[57] prescribed by the *Kubjikāmata*. This is a perfectly symmetrical arrangement—which is certainly because it is purely ideal. One could hazard to say that, for the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṁhitā*, the body serves as the locus of projection for the pan-Indian macrocosm and the head for its localized replication. Perhaps because the latter was no longer functional by the time of the redaction of the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṁhitā* or because the cult had spread from its place of origin, the author of the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṁhitā* chose to internalize it. He thus integrated the local geography into the overall system of interiorization of its macrocosmic counterpart that had already taken place in the *Kubjikāmatatantra*.

Despite the thoroughness with which the sites and all that had to do with pilgrimage had been internalized, until the 10th century (the possible time of the redaction of the *Kubjikāmatatantra*), if not later, the injunction to actually visit these places was not modified. The following passage from a Kubjikā Tantra not only encourages the worship of the sacred seats, which can be done anywhere, it tells us of the fruits of visiting them in the standard style of pilgrimage texts:

He who constantly worships the sequence of the sacred seats that has come down through the sequence of the lineage, having known it thus, is himself Bhairava directly apparent. He who does the round of the sacred seats, whether he be a teacher (ācārya) or an adept (sādhaka), is liberated. He is Śiva directly apparent, he is (a true) member of the lineage and the best of teachers. By resorting countless times to the sacred seats, all sins are destroyed whether one has committed brahminicide a thousand times (or even) if one has killed a myriad cows. So one should worship the four seats at all times. The desire of one (who does) so becomes an accomplishment (siddhi) and he is dear to the yoginīs.[58]

That the injunction to visit these places should be taken literally is further reinforced by the warning that follows that the adept who goes or resides in these places should not be proud.[59]

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[57] KMT 14/7-11 says that this standard set of four places is located in the body as follows: 1) Uḍḍiyāna—(the genitals?) below the navel 2) Jālandhara—stomach 3) Pūrṇagiri—heart and 4) Kāmarūpa—throat. The *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, a late middle period Kubjikā Tantra, illustrates the ease with which it is possible to produce a symmetrical projection of the sacred seats onto the face. The method, the Tantra tells us, is drawn from the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, a prime authority for the Trika Tantrism Abhinavagupta expounds in the *Tantrāloka*. This Tantra, in this case at least, substitutes Oṁkārapīṭha (i.e. Oṁkāreśvara in modern Madhyapradeśa) for Uḍḍiyāna. As the projection requires the simultaneous display of ritual gestures (*mudrā*) it cannot be brought about by touching the respective parts of the body, as is usually done. Instead, the Tantra prescribes that one must look at these locations, that is, visualize them there, in a manner reminiscent of how the goddess sacralizes sites by the energy of her gaze.

The four sacred seats are located in the head as follows: 1) Oṁkāra—mouth 2) Jāla—right ear 3) Pūrṇa—left ear 4) Kāmarūpa—tip of the nose (CCMS 7/34). In this way a triangle is projected onto the face with Kāmarūpa in the centre.

[58] KuKh 6/191-4.

[59] *The hero who has entered Uḍḍiyāna and cultivates pride (there) will become poor and die; (indeed) he will live (barely) for a month. A robber, river or terrible disease will kill the deluded soul who is given to pride in Jālandhara. He will live for (only) six months and then will die along with his relatives. Or, again, he who despises (others) in Pūrṇapīṭha or is proud will die by fire or else he will die in the fifth month in a fierce battle. An unseen hammer falls on the head of one who, seated comfortably in Kāmarūpa, acts proudly. His body will*

Peregrination to the sacred places is variously termed. It may be simply called a ‘‘wandering’’ (*aṭana*, *bhramaṇa*). This may be associated with the pious wandering of the renunciate ascetic in search of alms (*bhikṣāṭana*)[60] and, especially, begging for alms in the eight sacred Kaula places listed below. Accordingly, these places are called ‘‘sacred seats of peregrination’’ (*aṭanapīṭha*). They are also the residences of goddesses, accomplished adepts and Tantric partners who are represented as low-caste women or close female relatives. From this point of view they are called ‘‘houses’’ (*gṛha*, *ghara*, *veśman*). Thus, according to the Kubjikā Tantras, the eight major Kaula sacred sites each have a house occupied by a woman of low caste who is identified with a Mother (Mātṛkā), as recorded in the following table[61] and plotted on Map 7. The second entry in bold records the identifications made by the *Mādhavakula* and the *Devyāyāmala*, both Kālī Tantras that prescribe the worship of Kālasaṁkarṣaṇī as the supreme form of Kālī.[62]

1) Prayāga—prostitute (*veśyā*), **sweeper** (*mātaṅgī*)—Brahmāṇī—navel
2) Varaṇā[63]—liquor seller (*śuṇḍinī*), **collyrium girl** (*kajjalī*)—Māheśvarī (Śāṅkarī)—heart
3) Kollā[64]—fisherwoman (*kaivartī*), **butcher woman** (*saunī*)—Kaumārī—throat
4) Aṭṭahāsa—chalk miner woman (*khaṭṭikā*), **passionate woman** (*kāmukī*[65])—Vaiṣṇavī—palate
5) Jayantikā—ball-making woman (*kaṇḍukī*), **leather worker** (*carmakāriṇī*)—Vārāhī—drop
6) Caritra—washerwoman (*rajakī*), **liquor seller** (*dhvajinī*)—Indrāṇī—sound
7) Ekāmra—sculptress (*śilpinī*), **bone crusher woman** (*asthividāriṇī*)—Cāmuṇḍā—the place of power (*śaktisthāna*)
8) Devīkoṭa[66]—outcaste woman (*antyajā*), **fisherwoman** (*dhīvarī*)—Mahālakṣmī[67]—teacher's mouth[68]

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dry up and he will die in the middle of the lunar fortnight. The teacher, O handsome one, who has been proud will go to hell. (KuKh 6/196-201)

[60] KuKh 16/1-2.

[61] The identifications of the resident low-caste women (who are referred to as goddesses) with the Eight Mothers (Mātṛkā) is according to KuKh 16/13-5. The identification of these female beings with the Mothers may not be an original part of the teachings of the Kubjikā Tantras. There are several places in the Kubjikā Tantras where these eight places with their low-caste residents are listed as a group, with occasional variants, without associating them with the Mothers. This is the case in the *Kubjikāmata* (25/90-5ab), which is certainly the oldest of the Kubjikā Tantras and also, for example, in KuKh 14/78-80. The later source supplies the inner equivalents (*adhyātma*). Note also that this identification is not made in the *Mādhavakula* and *Devyāyāmala*.

[62] Quoted in TĀ 29/66-7.

[63] The quotation in the printed edition of the *Tantrāloka* lists Varuṇā as the name of this place. This may well be an editorial error for Varaṇā. Referring to this place, the KuKh declares that ‘‘Varaṇā is in Vārāṇasī’’ (16/17). Thus we can safely identify this place with Vārāṇasī not Varuṇā, which is site number 46 in Map 1.

[64] This place is Kollāgiri. The edition of the *Tantrāloka* reads Kulagiri.

[65] The edition of the *Tantrāloka* reads *kārmukī* .

[66] The KuKh calls this place Koṭivarṣa, as does KMT (25/94). This is an alternative name for Devīkoṭa (also spelt Devīkoṭṭa).

[67] There is an extra ninth entry according to the *Mādhavakula* and the *Devyāyāmala*. This is Haimapura, where the oil-grinding woman (*cakrinī*) resides. As the ‘‘mistress of the wheels’’ she is appropriately identified

It is a matter of great interest, known only to a few learned initiates, that this set of eight, as presented in the Kubjikā Tantras, is worshipped regularly by Newar Kaula initiates. This they do both in their secret domestic rites and outside in sites situated around the Kathmandu Valley and large urban areas. A representative example of this replication is the circle of Mothers that surround Bhaktapur (see Map 8). Although we cannot be sure how long this sacred geography has been in place, tradition ascribes its establishment to King Ananda Malla, who probably ruled Bhaktapur in the fourteenth century.[69] The reader is referred to published studies for details.[70] Suffice it to say for our present purpose that the individual Mothers are represented by icons kept in special temples (*dyāḥcheṁ*) and by stones in sites called *pīṭha* situated around the border of Bhaktapur. A New Year festival that takes place once a year in April serves, amongst other things, to commemorate the founding of the city of Bhaktapur. The founding of the city in this case effectively means the establishment of its sacred geography, of which the circle of Mothers is one of its cardinal features. Amongst several other important events that take place in the nine days the festival lasts is the installation of both the icons of the Mothers and the re-affirmation, by the same token, of their presence in the stones. Now, although the worship of groups of Eight Mothers is a common feature of most if not all the Tantric systems of the Kaula and Bhairava Tantras, their exact configuration in the form listed above is peculiar to the Kubjikā Tantras. The secret liturgies of many, if not all, of the Kaula traditions (*āmnāya*) in Bhaktapur take this set with these particular eight low-caste women associated with them as the standard format in which the Mothers are worshipped. This is true of the Newar Śrīvidyā liturgies even though the root Tantras of this school know nothing of these identifications. It is true also for forms of Kālī Newar initiates worship, such as Guhyakālī and the cult of Siddhalakṣmī. The former was, in any case, absorbed early on into the Kubjikā cult, as I have already noted elsewhere. If any doubt remains that the Eight Mothers of Bhaktapur are derived from the Kubjikā Tantras, the identification is confirmed by the fact that while the Mothers are being installed, one a night, on the border of the outer civic space, the principal goddesses on whom the Mothers attend are worshipped in the royal palace as the deities of the king, the state and the people. As one would expect, these goddesses include, in a prominent manner, the tutelary of the Malla kings, Siddhalakṣmī. Indeed, the secret rite performed in the royal palace on the main day of the festival which mirrors the erection a large pole (*yasiñ*) in a public place in Bhaktapur culminates with the erection of a flag pole and flag (*dvajārohaṇa*) to the goddess Siddhalakṣmī. Even so, the main goddess worshipped secretly in the course of this secret rite is Kubjikā. Accordingly, the Mothers who are her attendants in the Tantras are those who are worshipped as her attendants in the city of Bhaktapur. This is symbolized by the collocation of the goddess Tripurā in the centre of the circle, thus marking the ''true'' (i.e. esoteric) centre of town. Although the public worship Tripurā there in the form of an aniconic stone as

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with Kuṇḍalinī. More specifically, she is Kālasaṁkarṣaṇī who, as the Mistress of Kula (*kuleśvarī*), is worshipped in the centre either alone, with her consort or even independently of the eight listed above. Although the references quoted in the *Tantrāloka* do not tell us this specifically, the eight may also be identified with the Eight Mothers who surround Kālaśaṁkarṣaṇī represented by her 17-syllabled mantra.

[68] Alternative inner maps of these eight places and the projection of the Eight Mothers onto the body drawn from the *Śrīmatottara*, which is a Kubjikā Tantra, and the *Śrīkāmākhyaguhyasiddhi* have been published by Dehejia 1986: 48.

[69] See Levy 1992: 489f.

[70] See, for example, *ibid.*: 464-500.

a ninth Mother, initiates know that this is the place where initiates worship their own lineage goddess, who may or may not be Tripurā.[71]

Here then we have a fine example of the replication of Tantric sacred geography mediated by its initial interiorization in the domestic rites of the Newar Kaulas. We may note here one of the important functions of interiorization, namely that, once the initiate has interiorized a sacred geography, he can transport it within himself. Then, if his cult receives the necessary patronage, which occurs when, for example, a king becomes an initiate, he can project it outside.[72] In this case *this* projection makes the foundation of the civic space a mesocosmic replication of Kaula geography. Thus it allows Newar initiates the possibility of visiting these places, as did their Indian Kaula ancestors. This example serves to demonstrate the need for the continuing existence of such places in the outer, public domain. Not only do the Mothers serve as demarcators and protectors of the sacralized civic space, it also makes the pilgrimage to their sacred sites possible. And the citizens of Bhaktapur do in fact do this on the occasion of the New Year's festival and the nine-day worship in autumn of Durgā, who is the public identity of each Kaula goddess.

The pilgrimage to such places, whether by Newars in their towns or by their predecessors in India, is undertaken as a vow (*vratacaryā*). The pilgrimage can be interiorized as a possible alternative to its actual performance. When this happens it is called the Vow of Knowledge (*vidyāvrata*). The *Kubjikāmatatantra* declares that, "he who practises the Vow (*vratacaryā*) and internalizes what is external achieves success (*siddhi*)."[73] The practice of the vow is living in accord with one's basic state of being (*bhāva*); this is why the Tantra says that it is called the Vow of Knowledge. This basic state of being is full of awareness, through which the perceptible is discerned in the course of cognition, and so the power of consciousness is awakened.[74] The application and development of this awareness through spiritual discipline and its continued maintenance in daily life, which is manifest in adherence to the rules of right spiritual conduct, is to live in accord with one's inner being, which is the internal Vow of Knowledge. As the Tantra says:

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[71] Newar initiates frequently worship their own esoteric deities in place of the public ones. The public deity is venerated as the surface onto which the esoteric deity is projected and worshipped in secret. Notable examples of this phenomenon is the worship of the main Bhairava in Bhaktapur as Kubjikā, Paśupati as Śikhāsvacchanda Bhairava, and his consort Guhyakālī as the goddess embodying the weapon (*astra*) of the goddess Kubjikā.

[72] One of the many examples of this phenomenon can be seen in the temple of Śaṁvara/Bde-mchog in Tsaparang. Tucci (1989: 43-5) has described this temple, which contains detailed frescos of the maṇḍalas of the Śaṁvara cycle of the Buddhist Anuttarayoga Tantra. On one of the walls there are three maṇḍalas representing the body, speech and mind of the enlightened adept. They are squares, on the sides of each of which are represented eight sacred Vajrayāna sites in India. These sites correspond to those plotted on Map 9. Just as these sacred sites were transported to Tsaparang in this way, they travelled wherever Śaṁvara was worshipped, including the entire Himalayan region. Thus Tucci remarks that "now all these places are [found] through Zanskar, Kashmir, Kulu, the districts of Hazara and Swat" (*ibid.*: 43). They were not only transposed in this way from place to place but were also internalized as the parameters of the adept's body, speech and mind. And, by means of another reversal, they marked spots of the giant body of the enlightened adept projected onto the landscape.

[73] KMT 25/121.

[74] *Ibid.* 25/38.

Meditation, worship, the repetition of Mantra, the fire sacrifice and the practice of the Rule (samayācaraṇa)—this is said to be the Vow of Knowledge. The external vow is not the best.[75]
Again:
These places (sthāna) I have mentioned are within the inner (Supreme) Self (adhyātma) and are grounded in the individual soul. The eternal (Self), residing in the Wheel of the Heart, wanders constantly within them. As long as (a person) does not attain the inner teaching (adhyātmanirṇaya) concerning the sacred seats, how can he have success (siddhi) even if he wanders (throughout) the triple universe?[76]

But the Kubjikā Tantras do not prescribe the elimination of the outer sacred sites or outer pilgrimage. Though the outer pilgrimage is fruitless without the inner, it serves a necessary function for those who are not yet fully developed.[77] In order to achieve success both the internal and external vows should be practised together.[78] As the Tantra says: "Both the inner and outer aspects have an inner and outer condition."[79]

One of the major aims of this vow coincides with that of the performance of penitential vows in general, including those suggested by the Dharmaśāstras, namely, the purification of the individual from sin. According to the Kubjikā Tantras, this purification leads to liberation, just as the performance of the vow in itself gives the adept magical and yogic power—*siddhi*. In order to understand the outer form of this and other such vows in a larger perspective, we should have to retrace its history right back to Vedic times and Vedic sacrifices which demanded the observance of a range of vows on the part of the patron of the sacrifice (*yajamāna*) and his officiants. For the specifically Śaiva historical precedents, we would first have to turn to the (Lakulīśa) *Paśupatasūtras* belonging to the 3rd century. Then we would need to examine the Śaivasiddhānta Āgamas that followed after. We could then proceed on to the Bhairava Tantras, which logically and in actual fact (some parts of them at least) were the immediate historical predecessors of the Kaula Tantras. These texts contain prescriptions for numerous vows (*vrata*). The unedited *Brahmayāmala* is an example of a Bhairava Tantra that is especially rich in this respect. The important and likewise unedited Kālī-centred *Jayadrathayāmala* also lists many such vows. These include the Vow of Madness (*unmattavrata*), the Vow of Nakedness (*nagnavrata*), the Vow to Be Transvestite (*strīveśadharavrata*) , the Vow to Wear Red Clothes (*raktaveśadharavrata*), and many more, including the most famous of all, the Great Vow (*mahāvrata*). This vow requires that the ascetic wander constantly from place to place imitating Bhairava's penance for having severed one of Brahmā's heads. He should wear six insignia, namely, a necklace (*kuṇṭhikā*), neck ornament (*rucaka*), earrings (*kuṇḍala*), crest-jewel (*śikhāmaṇi*), ashes (*bhasma*) and a sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*). Most important of all is the skull he should carry. The ascetics who observed this vow were accordingly called Kāpālikas ('Skull Bearers').

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[75] KuKh 14/22cd-23ab.

[76] *Ibid.* 14/80cd-82ab.

[77] Accordingly, a Kubjikā Tantra succinctly states: "The external sacred seats have been revealed in order to (instill) devotion in the (common) people." (KuKh 14/83ab)

[78] *One who has thus performed the internal and external vow, (practised right) conduct and (applied the spiritual) means (sādhanā), has success (siddhi). O god, (this is) the truth, without a doubt.* (Ibid. 14/99cd-100ab)

[79] *Ibid.* 14/82cd.

The *Brahmayāmala*[80] has been described as a Kāpālika Tantra. This is partly because the form of the cult it prescribes is relatively literal and undomesticated. In particular, it devotes lengthy passages to a description of the aforementioned insignias, above all to the skull. The Kubjikā and other Kaula traditions were close descendants of such cults, and many traces of their connection remain. Thus the Kubjikā Tantras prescribe five rather than six insignias and omit the infamous skull. They also admit the wandering life. Thus a Kubjikā Tantra says:

Adorned with (the sacred insignias),[81] the recitor of Mantra, taking (each sacred) field (kṣetra) as a refuge, should wander (from one to the other and within them. These places include), in due order, a cremation ground, (a deserted) forest, (an abandoned) well (or) garden, an auspicious temple, an empty palace, the peak of a mountain, a crossroad of four roads, one of three roads, village roads, the seashore, the bank of the confluence of rivers or, O sinless one, (a desert where there is only) a solitary tree or (where there is just) a single liṅga or (any) fearful (caṇḍa) (sacred) field.[82]

Abhinava, who belonged to the 11th century, systematically expounded a possible pattern of total interiorization of such sites and, indeed, all Tantric ritual. The reason why this is possible and should be realized is in every case the same, namely, everything is a manifestation of consciousness within consciousness, like a reflection in a mirror. Thus as long as this has not been realized rituals and pilgrimages may be performed "but," as Abhinava says, "for one who sees that all this rests primarily in the body, the inner vital breath and in consciousness, what use are these other outer deluding peregrinations (*bhramaṇaḍambara*)?"[83]

Worship at sacred sites does not lead to liberation, even if they have been internalized. Even if they are projected onto the body, or, deeper, into the vital breath, they remain external to consciousness. Nonetheless, Abhinava does not deny that pilgrimage may be beneficial, in the sense that it does yield some fruit, namely, the specific benefits and accomplishments (*siddhi*), magical and yogic, that each of these places and its resident deities is supposed to bestow.[84] These, however, are a part of worldly enjoyment (*bhoga*) rather than the liberated condition.[85] Even so Abhinava does not reject external ritual. Pilgrimage to sacred sites, like all ritual and yogic practice, are part of a hierarchy of possibilities depending on the spiritual development of the aspirant.[86] Moreover, going to places where spiritual people gather is conducive to the practice of Yoga and therefore to the acquisition of spiritual knowledge.[87] Even so, he denies that places have any inherent power in themselves. One may worship successfully wherever the lotus of the heart of consciousness unfolds.[88]

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[80] It is worth noting in passing that the *Brahmayāmala* recommends that the neophyte take initiation in a cremation ground in Vārāṇasī confirming the connection of this now, dominantly, Purāṇic city with the early Bhairava and Śākta cults. See Dyczkowski 1988: 6:

"The sacred circle shown to the neophyte in the course of his initiation into the cult of the *Brahmayāmala* is to be drawn in a cremation ground with the ashes of a cremated human corpse. In it are worshipped Yakṣas, Piśācas and other demonic beings, including Rākṣasas led by Rāvaṇa, who surround Bhairava to whom wine is offered with oblations of beef and human flesh prepared in a funeral pyre. The name of the circle is the 'Great Cremation Ground' (*mahāśmaśāna*) and is to be drawn in Vārāṇasī." (See also *ibid.*: 30).

[81] The KMT (25/43) explains that the five insignias are the Five Instruments (*karaṇa*). These are the five deities who generate, sustain and withdraw the five gross elements, namely, Brahmā (Earth), Viṣṇu (Water), Śiva (Fire), Rudra (Air), and Maheśvara (Etheric Space).

[82] KuKh 14/29cd-32ab.

[83] TĀ 15/100b-1a.

While the Kubjikā Tantras agree that for this, or any, spiritual discipline to be effective, its interior equivalent must be experienced, they do not deny the existence of the power of place (*sthānaśakti*). According to this theory, the rays of the deity's consciousness converge in certain places by virtue of these places' inherent power. This convergence and formation in this way of a location where the deity may descend into the world is essential because no worship is possible in the absence of location. Each deity, whether in the outside world or within the body, must have a place of its own. This place, which serves as the sacred seat and field of the deity, is where union (*melāpa*) with the deity takes place. Consuming a sacrificial meal of meat and wine, the adept receives the grace of the deity of that place which is thus no less sacred than the deity itself.

In a more archaic, magical perspective, such places were originally believed to be potent in themselves, and this potency could be channelled and applied. Indeed, the Tantras prescribe the practice of magical rites aimed at the control of others and the destruction of one's enemies in these same places. Abhinava's warning against attachment to the practice of magic[89] recalls to mind the large amount of space dedicated to such matters in the Tantras in general and most particularly in ones such as these. The passages are eloquent testimony of the primitive animistic and magical substratum of the religious culture out of which they developed as more elevated refinements—literally "sanskritizations." One of these refinements is the incorporation of the ideal of liberation as a part of this geography of magical power places where the adept acquires powers, including the Great Accomplishment (*mahāsiddhi*), namely, liberation. The culmination of this process of refinement was not the addition of a totally different, higher ideal, but rather its interiorization. These Tantras did not teach, as did Abhinava, that liberation and the attainment of accomplishment (*siddhi*) are contrasting ideals belonging to different realms. On the contrary, the Kubjikā Tantras say that:

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[84] Abhinava writes: "Thus all these places, internal and external, concern (only) those who wish to obtain the fruits of this or that Wheel (*cakra*). According to the (Śaiva) scripture these places (*sthāna*) are diverse and without number" TĀ 15/101b-2a.

[85] Abhinava writes: "Mountain tops, riverbanks, solitary liṅgas and the like mentioned (in the Tantras) are external (places). Here (in this doctrine) they serve (as a means to attain) particular accomplishments, not for liberation. Mountain peaks and the like, projected into the vital breath within the body serve as a means for (Tantric) practitioners (*sādhaka*) to gain accomplishments (*siddhi*) not for liberation" (TĀ 15/80b-2a).

[86] Abhinava quotes the *Mataṅgatantra* as saying that "This prescription to ritual action (*vidhāna*) is an easy means (*sukhopāya*) which the teacher explains to those who are unable to contemplate (the true liberating) knowledge" (TĀ 15/8). Therefore, initiation (*dīkṣā*), Tantric spiritual discipline (*caryā*) and concentration (*samādhi*) are for those who are unable to attain reality directly by knowledge. Even so, initiation and the rest are based on knowledge and so, according to Abhinava, the man of knowledge (*jñānin*), rather than the one who performs rituals, or even the yogi, is the most excellent. Similarly, he says that teachers are of increasing orders of excellence according to whether they are proficient in the performance of rituals, Yoga or knowledge (TĀ 15/18-9).

[87] *Ibid.* 15/98b-100a.

[88] Abhinava writes: "The wealth of the sacrifice (*yāgaśrī*) is well established in that place (*dhāman*), whether internal or external, where the lotus of the heart blooms (*vikāsa*). Liberation is not (attained) in any other way except by severing the knot of ignorance and that, according to the venerable Vīrāvalī Tantra, is (brought about) by the expansion (*vikāsa*) of consciousness" (*ibid.* 15/107b-9a).

[89] aindrajālikavṛttānte na rajyeta kadācana | *ibid.* 14/26a.

> *If one perceives the pure inner aspect with the mind, O beloved, then the subtle rays (of the light of the Supreme Principle) within each external thing bestow union (melaka), the sacrificial pap (caru) or the liberated state (apāśavīvidhi). They endow the lineage (with the teachings) and explain the self-established (reality—svastha). O god, he who wanders on the earth with an impure inner being does not, for that reason, have a vision (of the deity—darśana) anywhere through me, O Rudra. Although he sees, he sees not; although (reality is) perceivable, it is not perceived. He cannot know (the rays of consciousness which are) the goddesses of various kinds.*[90]
> [. . .] *(The rays arise) in town, village, forest, city or crossroad, peasant's hut, Tantric meeting ground (saṁdoha), sacred seat (pīṭha), field, grove, garden, small grove or in (any of the other) aforementioned (places). (Indeed), the rays of consciousness (jñāna) arise in every single place. O fair-hipped one, they are innumerable within earth or in water, fire, wind, and air.*[91]

Thus the aspirant is admonished to be a pilgrim. But along with his outer pilgrimage he must learn to travel through his own body along the conduits of the vital force to their vital centres. This is his inner journey through the world orders arranged as stations along his ascent to freedom. He must travel through the universe—the Egg of Brahmā. Then when he reaches the top he will find Daṇḍapāṇi who with his staff cracks open the Egg for him to ascend up beyond it.[92] The accomplished adept is one who is free to move at will (*svecchācarin*) throughout the cosmic order[93] and move beyond it. Thus, the Tantras envisage an end to the initiate's cosmic wayfaring. The universe is not a closed system, reality extends beyond it, for otherwise there could be no freedom from the cosmic order. There is no break between the realms of worldly experience (*bhoga*) and those of the liberated state. Even beyond the cosmic order, at the very summit of reality (*parā kāṣṭhā*), movement does not cease. But the perfected initiate (*siddha*) no longer needs to suffer the strains of a long and tiring journey. No longer held fast by the forces of attraction to the glorious diversity (*vicitratā*) of the cosmic order, he is free to take flight. No longer wandering in the complex net of Māyā with its countless locations and times, he moves through the Sky of Pure Consciousness. This then is the ideal of the early Bhairava Tantras and, especially, the Kaula (Śākta) Tantra, namely, the Accomplishment of Flight (*khecaratvasiddhi*).[94]

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[90] KuKh 14/83cd-87ab.

[91] Ibid. 14/89f.

[92] Paraphrasing the *Svacchandatantra* Abhinava writes: "Above Rudra's abode is (the abode of) of Daṇḍapāṇi who, in accord with Śiva's will, breaks the egg and fashions the path to liberation" (TĀ 8/159b-60, see also SvT 10/611b-4).

[93] ŚM fol. 137b: bhramate ca yathecchayā ābrahmabhuvanāntikam |

The Siddhas and Yoginīs who reside in the sacred places in the Triangle are all Skyfarers. They move in the Void of the Yoni, nourishing themselves with the nectar of immortality that exudes from it. They are one with the energy that "wanders in the Sky" (*khecarī*). As the energy of Speech she vitalizes all the phonemic energies that combine in infinite variety. As each of them is a sacred place, she is not only the Nameless (*anāmā*) Letter but also Place (*sthāna*); what the text calls the divine inner Place that is one's own place (*svasthāna*).[95]

Abhinava, in accord with his hermeneutic, provides a more sophisticated phenomenological interpretation. The energy that "wanders in the Void" is the reflective awareness of the light of consciousness that shines as all things. This energy wanders amidst the objects of the senses and they thus become objects of perception. By extension, this same power is responsible for the subjective responses to the object, namely, attraction or repulsion. Thus, this energy consists of both the inner and outer senses as well as their objects.[96] The Skyfarer is one with this energy. Thus, whatever she or he sees becomes a divine manifestation of consciousness. We are reminded here of one of the modalities through which the goddess generates sacred place, that is, by her powerful and gracious gaze.[97]

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[94] According to the Kubjikā Tantras, the fruits of travelling to the sites of the Eight Mothers with the prescribed inner mindfulness are indeed, as Abhinava says of all such pilgrimages, the acquisition of various magical and yogic powers (*siddhi*). These are attained over years of practice in a graded order until the final one is attained, which is the Accomplishment of Flight. Even though it comes at the end of a graded series of worldly attainments, this culminating accomplishment is not worldly (*bhoga*), but liberation itself. Ideally, the KMT tells us that in this particular case, this takes place in twelve years when "even a brahminicide" achieves success. In the first year he gains political power. The king and his harem come under his control and the king's vassal lords and ministers venerate him. In two years he gains power over the fair damsels of the spirits of vegetation (*yakṣakanyā*). In three years, the women of the demons of the seven hells are so aroused by the adept that they literally die in their yearning for him. In the following years he attains the higher worlds, starting with that of Brahmā up to that of Rudra. In the eighth year he reaches that of Īśvara, in the ninth that of Sadāśiva and in the tenth he becomes a veritable repository of knowledge. By the eleventh year, he can sport in the sky with the mighty beings who reside there, and in the twelfth, endowed with all eight yogic powers, he moves with the Skyfarers in the Firmament of Pure Consciousness beyond the sky (KMT 25/53-64ab).

[95] *Khecarī is the letter Without Name (anāmā). The series of letters from A to KṢ are the sleeping form of bliss radiant like the Wish-granting Gem, the whole extent of which is Kula Bhairava. It is the Place (sthāna), the divine inner Place which is one's own place (svasthāna) that has emerged from OṀ. It is bliss whose body is invisible (adṛṣṭa). The pure transcendent tradition (anvaya). This is the teaching concerning the Sequence of the Divine Current* (CCMS 1/37ab).

[96] PTv, p. 39

[97] Abhinava arrives at the same creative idealism through an analysis of the more purely Śaiva (rather than Kaula Śākta) spirituality when he says:

"Śiva, the agent of the five functions of emanation, persistence, reabsorption, obscuration and grace, is (our own pure) consciousness. The yogi who is firmly identified with (Śiva) in his fullness and freedom is the author of (these) five functions. For him worship, the repetition of Mantra, contemplation and Yoga are a perennial, undecaying reality" (TĀ 14/24-5).

In this ideal we can perceive a continuity with the ascetic traditions of India that stretch right back to Vedic times. Even the *Ṛgveda* describes the earliest known ascetics, the munis, who imitated Rudra, the Vedic prototype of Śiva/Bhairava, as Skyfarers:

The Munis, girdled with the wind, wear garments soiled of yellow hue; they, following the wind's swift course, go where the gods have gone before. . . . Wind (vāyu) hath churned for him: for him he poundeth things most hard to bend, when he with long loose locks hath drunk, with Rudra, poison[98] *from the cup.*[99]

Conclusion

To conclude and complete the circuit, as it were, let us return back to earth with its physical, cultural and historical geography. At this point a question naturally comes to mind, namely, to what extent are the geographies of these texts realistic? Are these real places or mere names that serve as another set of ciphers the Tantras employ to feed their seemingly limitless appetite for symbolic representation?

A detailed geographical and historical study of each of the places plotted on the maps and listed in the chart appended to this paper is in the course of preparation. This will certainly yield a good deal of information. But we should not be disappointed if we do not find all that we expect. These forms of Tantrism are not well suited to be public religions. Even when internalized, they remain esoteric, private cults that require neither temples nor public, communal festivals. Even so traces do remain in, for example, forms of temple architecture, iconography, literary references, occasional inscriptions, and in the sacred geographies of the Purāṇas that are still in place.

The sacred geography of some traditions, at least, of the Buddhist Yoga and Anuttara class of Tantras of the same period coincided in many respects with that of the Bhairava and Kaula Tantras (see Map 9). It is not surprising therefore that the Tantras and commentaries on both Buddhist and Śaiva-cum-Śākta sides of the fence contain admonitions to stay clear of one another if encounters happen to take place in such sites. Vajrayāna Buddhists who have been initiated into the Yoga and Anuttarayoga Tantras, which have been the most influenced by Śaivism, call themselves Kaulas. The Hindu Kaula Tantras[100] call them "Bauddhakaula." The Buddhists, however, considered themselves to be superior to their Śaiva counterparts because they maintained that, unlike the Śaivites, they found internal symbolic equivalents for the elements of Kaula ritual, including the sacred geography. The distance both parties feel should be maintained between each other is a measure of their similarity. Indeed, there are numerous details such as these that confirm their common cultural heritage that, at its grass roots, one could call the culture of the vagrant ascetic and the sacred seats.[101] These were power places that were felt to have power in themselves, and so it would not be surprising if many of them existed before these Tantric developments.

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[98] Griffith: water

[99] Ṛg 10/136/2,7 translation by Griffith.

[100] The KMT 100/146a expressly says: varjayet kaulikān bauddhān "one should avoid the Buddhist Kaulas."

[101] The KMT declares: "One should know that that is Kula which graces everybody. Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, the last born and those without caste (*prākṛta*), including sweepers and foreigners (*mlecchajāti*), Buddhists, followers of the Sāṅkhya and Jains, ascetics with three sticks (*tridaṇḍa*), those who shave their

By the 9th century when, I believe, the earliest Kubjikā Tantra was redacted, the sacred geography of these places had assumed the form of the regular and recurrent pattern of an ideal scheme. But even so, it was still functional. It was, moreover, purely Tantric, that is to say, sanctioned by and recorded in the Tantras. For the followers of the Bhairava and Kaula Tantras, this appears to be a period of transition from the vagrant life of the solitary ascetic to that of the householder. Thus, the group of fifty sacred sites that, as far as we know at present, appears for the first time in the Kubjikā Tantras were simply treated as a standard ideal set. The list appears, as we have noted, in the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, where it is already formalized. And it continued to be a popular list long past the days when it could have reflected an objective situation. Thus it recurs in the *Jñānārṇavatantra* and several other Tantric texts[102] throughout the medieval period right up to the 17th-century *Tantrasāra* by the Bengali Kṛṣṇānanda. By his time the original grid of fifty letters was long forgotten. He must have thought the correct number the lucky 51. Thus, he divides one entry—Merugiri—into two, Meru and Giri.

Parallel to these developments in the Tantras are those in the Purāṇas. These sacred texts sanctioned public forms of religion, including the Śāktism that developed from the middle of the first millennium. An early list of 108 sacred sites is found in the *Matsya Purāṇa.*[103] This list was reproduced in several Purāṇas, including the *Devībhāgavata*, where the sites are called "pīṭhas," a specifically Tantric term (the Purāṇic term is "*tīrtha*"). One hundred and fifty sites mentioned in Tantras have been plotted on the first ten maps appended to this essay. Twenty-eight of them are amongst the 108 (see Map 11). This is because the sacred geography of the Śākta pīṭhas in the Purāṇas extended its range to include a number of clearly Purāṇic sites. The cluster around Badrinātha on Map 11 is an example. Citrakūṭa, Gāyā and Vṛndāvana are other notable examples. The myth of origin of these places which relates them to the dismembered parts of Satī's body is not found in the early Tantras. This is all the more surprising because they know the story of Dakṣa's sacrifice and how his daughter, Satī/ Umā, threw herself into the sacrificial fire and died because Śiva, her husband, was not invited to it. The subsequent evolution of the sacred geography of the Śākta pīṭhas thus mirrors the evolution of Śāktism in the Purāṇas as much, if not more, than in the Tantras.

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heads, (carry) ascetics' staffs (*khaṭvāṅga*) and clubs (*muṣala*) or perform other rituals (*anyakriyā*)—all these reach the Supreme Śaiva reality. The Śaivite (has reached the goal and so) does not go anywhere''' (*ibid.* 10/139-40).

[102] The passage is found in the 15th chapter of the *Jñānārṇavatantra* which postdates the *Yoginīhṛdaya*. It recurs in the *Śāktānandataraṅginī* (chapter 15) by the 17th-century Bengali Brahmānanda, who quotes it from the *Gāndharvatantra*. See also chapter 5 of the *Bṛhannīlatantra*.

[103] *Matsya Purāṇa* 13/26-56. Sircar (1973: 25) informs us that: "An early list of this nature can be traced in the *Mahābhārata* (VI, ch. 23); but a complete list of the 108 names of the mother goddess with the specification of her association with particular holy places is probably to be found for the first time in the *Matsya Purāṇa*." Sircar places the text in the "early medieval period," but it may well be quite late. It is certainly not prior to the 12th century. This is because the Purāṇa refers to Vṛndāvana as a resort of Rādhā and to Puruṣottama in Puri. The former was certainly unknown as a divinity before the post-Gupta period . The latter did not attain to eminence prior to Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), who laid the foundation of the great temple of Jagannātha at Purī.

An example of the degree to which this process has progressed is how few have observed that the goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī/Durgā is actually a purely Purāṇic goddess. Prior to the 13th century or even later, the goddess Durgā, although known to the Tantras, plays no significant role in the Tantras' ritual programmes. She is the public non-Tantric representative of the secret Tantric goddesses. The Śāktism of the Purāṇas, on the other hand, gives this goddess pride of place, assimilating other goddesses, including those of the Tantras, to her. The same process can be observed geographically in the layout of the 108 Śākta pīṭhas.

Thus Tantrism and its sacred geography survives both within the adept and his home as well as in the outer world to the degree in which it can be assimilated or adapted to the public domain without losing its essentially secret, internal identity.

Abbreviations:

BT Buddhist Tantra
CGC *Cidgaganacandrikā*
CMSS *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya**[104]
HT *Hevajra Tantra*
KK *Kulakrīḍāvatāra*
KMT *Kubjikāmatatantra*
KuKh Kumārikākhaṇḍa of the *Manthānabhairavatantra*
JY *Jayadrathayāmala*
MBT *Manthānabhairavatantra*
NAK National Archives Kathmandu
NŚ *Niśisamcāratantra*
NGMPP Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
PTv *Parātriṁśikāvivaraṇa*
ṢaṭSS *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā**
ŚM *Śrīmatottara**
TĀ *Tantrāloka*
YHṛ *Yoginīhṛdaya*

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[104] I have edited the texts marked with an asterisk from their manuscripts but have not yet published them.

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Appendix 1: A list of the sites plotted on the maps.
Appendix 2: A table of locations associated with the Six Kaula Siddhas.
Appendix 3: Maps. These include:

1) The Fifty Sites according to the Kumārikākhanda of the *Manthānabhairavatantra* and *Ṭīkā* by Rūpaśiva fol. 3a.
2) The Fifty Sites according to the *Ambāmatasaṁhitā* fol. 13a.
3) The Fifty Sites according to the *Yoginīhṛdaya* 3/36-43.
4) The Twenty-Four Sites according to the *Jayadrathayāmala* quoted in TĀ 29/59-63.
5) The Thirty-Four Sites according to the *Niśisaṁcāratantra* quoted in TĀ 15/84-93ab.
6) The Twenty-Four Sites according to the *Kubjikāmatatantra* 22/23-46.
7) The Eight Mothers: KuKh 16/13-5 and KMT 25/90-5ab.
8) The Eight Mothers surrounding Bhaktapur. Map by Niels Gutschow in Levy 1992: 155. The numbers designate the deities in the sequence in which they are worshipped. They are 1) Brāhmaṇī 2) Maheśvarī 3) Kumārī· 4) Vaiṣṇavī 5) Vārāhī 6) Indrāṇī 7) Mahākālī ·8) Mahālakṣmī 9) Tripurā. The dense bands of dots represents the edge of the present city.
9) The Buddhist Sites. The map has been plotted on the basis of the lists of sacred sites found in selected Buddhist Tantras in an article in Hindī called ''Bauddha tantroṁ meṁ pīṭhopapīṭhādi kā vivecana'' published in *Dhīḥ*, Sarnath, Varanasi, 1986 vol. I: 137-148. The Tantras and texts consulted were the *Vasantatilaka*, *Jñānodaya*, *Vajravārāhīyogarājottama-rahasya*, *Śrīcakrasaṁvaraherukābhisamaya*, *Laghutantraṭīkā*, *Abhisamayamañjarī*, *Yoginījāla*, *Saṁvarodaya* and *Hevajratantra*. Details of the sources, all of which are manuscripts, apart from the *Saṁvarodaya* and *Hevajratantra*, can be found in the aforementioned article. The places listed in all these Tantras apart·from the *Hevajratantra* (1/7/12-18) are virtually identical. Thus, effectively, there are only two lists. One is labelled HT in the table and the other BT.
10) The Six Kaula Siddhas: See Appendix 2.
11) 108 Śākta Sites according to the *Matsyapurāṇa*: Sircar 1973: 26-28.

Figures

1) The Triangular *Meruprastāra*.
2) The projection onto the body of the fifty Bhairavas and sacred sites.
3) The projection onto the body of the twenty-four sacred sites (*kṣetras*) according to the *Jayadrathayāmala* quoted in TĀ 29/59-63.
4) The projection of Kubjikā's tour (*yātrā*) onto the head according to the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṁhitā*
5) The Triangle of *Santānabhuvana*, the House of the Moon (*candragṛha*).

Appendix 1: A list of the sites plotted on the maps

Sacred Site	KuKh/ṭīkā	Ambā	YHṛ	JY	NS	KMT	HT	BT
Aṭṭahāsa	25	22	26	1	12	1	X	X
Arcapīṭha	X	10	X	X	X	X	X	X
Arbuda	8	X	8	X	X	X	13	4
Āmrātakeśvara	9	X	9	22	X	23[105]	X	X
Ihā	X	15	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ujjayinī	33	X	34	5	5	5	X	X
Uḍḍiyāna[106]	49	9	49	X	2	X	5	X
Uḍḍīśa	X	X	41	X	X	X	X	X
Udadhestaṭa	X	X	X	X	X	X	30	X
Udyāna	X	X	X	X	X	X	31	X
Urasā	41	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ekāmra[107]	10	25	10	X	9	X	X	X
Ekāra	18[108]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Eruṇḍī[109]	44	X	X	10	19	10	X	X
Elāpura[110]	30	X	30	16	21	12	X	X
Oṁkārapīṭha	X	X	18	X	X	X	X	X
Oṁkāra	X	X	31	X	X	X	X	X
Oḍra	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	10
Odukasa	37[111]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Karmārapāṭaka	X	X	X	X	X	X	11	X
Kaliṅga	X	X	X	X	15	X	20	13
Kaśmīrā	X	X	X	X	28	X	X	X
Kāñcī	X	26	X	X	X	X	X	X
Kānyakubja	6	32[112]	6	X	X	X	X	X
Kāmarūpa	1	7	1	X	1	X	4	9
Kāruṇyapāṭaka	X	X	X	X	X	X	9	X
Kuḍyākeśī	X	X	X	18	X	X	X	X

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[105] Āmrātikeśvara. The spellings of place names are susceptible to variation. It has therefore been necessary to establish a uniform spelling for all the maps. Variant spellings are listed in the footnotes.

[106] KuKh and *Ṭīkā*: Udyāṇa. *Ambā*: Oḍiyāṇaka. YHṛ: Uḍyāṇa. The spelling of this place name is liable to considerably more variations than others. I have chosen this spelling as it is generally, the most common. Note, however that the spelling Oḍḍiyāna is also common.

[107] KuKh 6/212: Tāmra. *Ambā*: Kāmra

[108] KuKh 6/212: Ekoṇa.

[109] Found only in the *Ṭīkā*. JY: Eḍābhī. NS: Eruḍikā. YHṛ: Airuḍī.

[110] YHṛ: Melāpura. NS: Elāpurī.

[111] *Ṭīkā*: Auḍikā.

[112] Kubjaka.

Sacred Site	KuKh/ṭīkā	Ambā	YHṛ	JY	NS	KMT	HT	BT
Kurukṣetra	X	38	X	X	34	X	X	X
Kulūtā[113]	21	3	22	X	16	X	12	24
Kuhundī	X	X	X	X	X	19	X	X
Kedāra	15	X	15	X	X	X	X	X
Kailāśa	13	39	13	X	X	X	X	X
Koṅkaṇa	X	12	X	X	X	X	22	X
Kollāgiri[114]	30	27	X	3	6	3	X	X
Kaumārīpura	X	X	X	X	X	X	28[115]	X
Kauśala	X	X	X	X	X	X	26	12
Kṣīraka[116]	35	X	X	21	22	21	X	X
Kheṭaka	X	X	X	X	34	X	X	X
Gajendra	X	8	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gargikā	X	X	X	X	29	X	X	X
Gṛhadevatā	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	18
Gokarṇa[117]	23	31	24	12	X	13	X	X
Godāvarī	X	X	X	X	X	X	14	5
Grāmāntastha	X	X	X	X	X	X	23	X
Candrapura[118]	16	14	16	X	X	X	X	X
Caritra	34	30	34[119]	2	X	2	25	X
Chāyāchatra	50	X	50	X	X	X	X	X
Jayantikā[120]	32	29	3	4	13	4	X	X
Jālandhara	19	13[121]	19	X	27	X	1	2
Triśakuni[122]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	11
Trisrota[123]	11	18	11	X	X	X	X	X
Devīkoṭa[124]	23	34	22	X	4	8	10	7

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[113] KuKh 6/212: Kulūtī. YHṛ: Kulānta—variant: Kulūna. HT: Kulatā. BT: Kulatā.

[114] KuKh and *Ṭīkā*: Kaullagiri. *Ambā*: Kullagiri. JY: Kollagiri. NS: Kulagiri. KMT: Kolāgiri.

[115] Kaumārapaurikā.

[116] KuKh, *Ṭīkā* and KMT: Kṣīrikā.

[117] *Ambā*: Karṇa. KMT: Kāśmarī

[118] KKh and *Ṭīkā*: Candrapuryaka. *Ambā*: Candrapūrya. YHṛ: Pūrṇacandraka—variant reading: Candrapuṣkara.

[119] Citrā.

[120] KuKh and *Ṭīkā*, *Ambā* and KMT: Jayantī.

[121] Jālapīṭha.

[122] Variant names: Triśakuna and Triśakulī.

[123] KuKh and *Ṭīkā*: Trisrotā. *Ambā*: Tisraka. YHṛ: Triśrota.

[124] KuKh and *Ṭīkā*: Devīkoṭā. *Ambā*: Devikotta. KMT: Śrīkoṭa.

Sacred Site	KuKh/ṭīkā	Ambā	YHṛ	JY	NS	KMT	HT	BT
Drukka	X	42	X	X	X	X	X	X
Dvāravṛtti	X	X	X	X	33	X	X	X
Nagara[125]	X	X	X	14	X	X[126]	7,24	21
Nepāla	3	37[127]	3	X	27	X	X	X
Pāripātra	X	43	X	X	X	X	X	X
Puṇḍravardhana	4[128]	5	4	15	7	16	X	X
Pullīramalaya	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1[129]
Purastīra[130]	5	X	5	17	X	17	X	X
Pūrṇagiri[131]	7	4	7	X	3	X	3	1
Pūryagiri	X	17	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pṛṣṭhāpura	39[132]	X	39	X	X	18	X	X
Prayāga	38	11	38	6	10	6	X	X
Pretapurī[133]	X	X	X	X	X	X	29	X
Brahmavāhā	X	48	X	X	X	X	X	X
Bhṛgunagara	14	X	14	X	X	X	X	X
Bheruṇḍaka	44	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Bhopāla	31[134]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Marukeśvara[135]	24	X	44	13	X	X	X	X
Marudeśa	X	X	X	X	25	14	X	23[136]
Malaya[137]	42	24	42	X	X	X	X	1
Mahāpatha	28	X	29	X	X	X	X	X
Mahālakṣmī	48	1	48	X	X	X	X	X

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[125] I suppose that this Nagara is the modern Nagapur, not Bhṛgunagara.

[126] Caitrakaccha

[127] Paśupati.

[128] KuKh 6/212: Pūrṇavardhana. *Ambā*: Vaṁdhana. YHṛ: Pauṇḍravardhana.

[129] *Abhisamaya*: Pullīra. This entry is missing in the *Vasantatilaka* and *Laghutantraṭīkā*.

[130] YHṛ: Purasthira. This is a variant reading the editor of the printed edition rejected. The accepted reading in that edition is Carasthira. KMT: Parastīra.

[131] *Ambā*: Pūrṇa. YHṛ: Pūrṇaśaila. In the *Saṁvarodaya* and *Laghutantraṭīkā*, this entry takes the place of Pullīramalaya found in the other texts of this group.

[132] Not found in the list in the KuKh. *Ṭīkā*: Pṛṣṭāpura. YHṛ: Ṣāṣṭha.

[133] HT: Pretasaṁghāta. *Saṁvarodaya, Yoginījāla, Vasantatilaka*, and *Vajravārāhī*: Pretādhivāsinī.

[134] Not found in the *Ṭīkā*. The equivalent entry there is Supāraka.

[135] KuKh and *Ṭīkā*: Meruvara. YHṛ: Meru. JY: Marukośa.

[136] *Saṁvarodaya*: Roru. *Yoginījāla, Vasantatilaka*, and *Abhisamaya*: Meru. *Laghutantraṭīkā*: Mero.

[137] *Ambā*: Mala. This entry is found only in the *Vasantatilaka*.

Sacred Site	KuKh/ṭīkā	Ambā	YHṛ	JY	NS	KMT	HT	BT
Mahendra[138]	45	23	45	X	X	X	X	X
Māyāpurī[139]	40	33	40	20	25	22	X	X
Māruteśvara	X	X	25	X	X	X	X	X
Mālava	20[140]	X	21	X	X	X	5	8
Munmuni	X	X	X	X	X	X	8	X
Mlecchadik	X	X	X	X	31	X	X	X
Rājagṛha[141]	27	X	28	23	23	24	X	X
Rāmeśvara	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	6
Rudrālaya	X	46	X	X	X	X	X	X
Lampāka	X	X	X	X	X	X	17	14
Lāhulā	X	X	X	X	17	X	X	X
Vāpikātīra	X	X	X	X	X	X	32	X
Vāmana	X	X	46	X	X	X	X	X
Vārāṇasī	2	6	2	7	14	7	X	X
Varuṇā[142]	46	19	X	X	11	X	X	X
Viraja[143]	26	X	26	9	18	9	X	X
Śrīgiri	X	20	X	X	X	X	X	X
Śrīpīṭha/parvata	17	28[144]	17	8	X	X	X	X
Ṣāṣṭha	X	X	39	X	X	X	X	X
Samānaka	X	40	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sarasvatī	X	49	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sindhu	X	X	X	X	X	X	6	22
Suvarṇadvīpa	X	X	X	X	X	X	21	20
Sopāra[145]	31	X	X	19[146]	X	20	X	X
Saurāṣṭra	X	X	X	X	X	X	19	19
Strīrājya	X	44[147]	X	X	X	X	X	X

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[138] KuKh, *Ṭīkā* and *Ambā*: Māhendra.

[139] KuKh, *Ṭīkā* and *Ambā*:Haridvāra. YHṛ and JY: Māyāpura

[140] KuKh 6/212: Mālaya.

[141] YHṛ: Rājageha. NS: Rājapurī.

[142] KuKh, *Ṭīkā*: Vāruṇa. *Ambā*: Varuṇa. NS: Varaṇā. Varaṇā is sometimes a synonym of Vārāṇasī. But as Vārāṇasī is a separate entry in the NS, I take Varaṇā there to be Varuṇā. Note also that according to the reading found in the TĀ, the seat of the second Mother in the JY is Varuṇā. According to the KMT, and other sources, it is Varaṇā, that is, Vārāṇasī. I assume, therefore, that the correct reading in the TĀ should be "varaṇā".

[143] KuKh 6/212: Virāja. NŚ: Virajā. KMT: Virajā.

[144] Ambā: Śrīparvata

[145] Listed in the *Ṭīkā* only as Supāraka. The equivalent entry in the KuKh is Bhūpāla. JY: Sopāna.

[146] JY: Sopāna.

[147] Śrīrājya.

Sacred Site	**KuKh/ṭīkā**	**Ambā**	**YHṛ**	**JY**	**NS**	**KMT**	**HT**	**BT**
Hara	X	X	X	X	30	X	X	X
Harikela	X	X	X	X	X	X	16	X
Hastināpura	36[148]	X	36	X	X	11	X	X
Hālā[149]	X	X	X	11	20	X	X	X
Himādri	X	X	X	X	X	X	15	X
Himālaya	X	36	X	X	X	X	X	16
Hiraṇyapura[150]	47	X	47	X	X	X	X	X

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[148] Hastikāpura.

[149] Jayaratha identifies Hālā as Alipura.

[150] Haimapura, which is the location of the ninth Mother according to the JY (see map 7), is Hiraṇyapura.

Appendix 2: The Six Kaula Siddhas according to the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* and the *Kulakrīḍāvatāra* (TĀ 29/38-9)

Prince	Master	Ovalli[151]	Pīṭha	Town	Direction in relation to Śrīśaila	Grove	Ghara[152]	Palli[153]
Amara	Siddhanātha	Bodha	Tripurottara	Ḍohāla	South	Kambilī	Paṭṭila	Dakṣiṇāvarta
Varadeva	Vidyānanda	Prabhu	Kamada	Kuṇḍī	West	?	Karabilla	Kumbhārikā
Citranātha	Kaulasiṁhamuni	Pāda	Aṭṭahāsa	Daṇḍaratna	North	Bilvākṣa	Ambilla	Billa
Olinātha[154]	Sṛṅgālamuni	Ānanda	Devīkoṭa	Bālahoma	East	Pāyavṛkṣa	Pulinda	Aḍavī
Vṛddhanāth[155]	Śāṇḍilyamuni	Yoga	Dakṣiṇādi[156]	Piṇḍa	South-West	Khairavṛkṣa	Śarabilla	Akṣara
Guḍikanātha	Candrabimba	Oṁ	Kaulagiri	Gauḍikā	North-West	Nārikelaphala	Aḍabilla	Ḍombī

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[151] Like the word *oli*, with the same meaning and to which it may be related, *ovalli* is not a word of Sanskrit derivation. It means 'tradition' or 'lineage'.

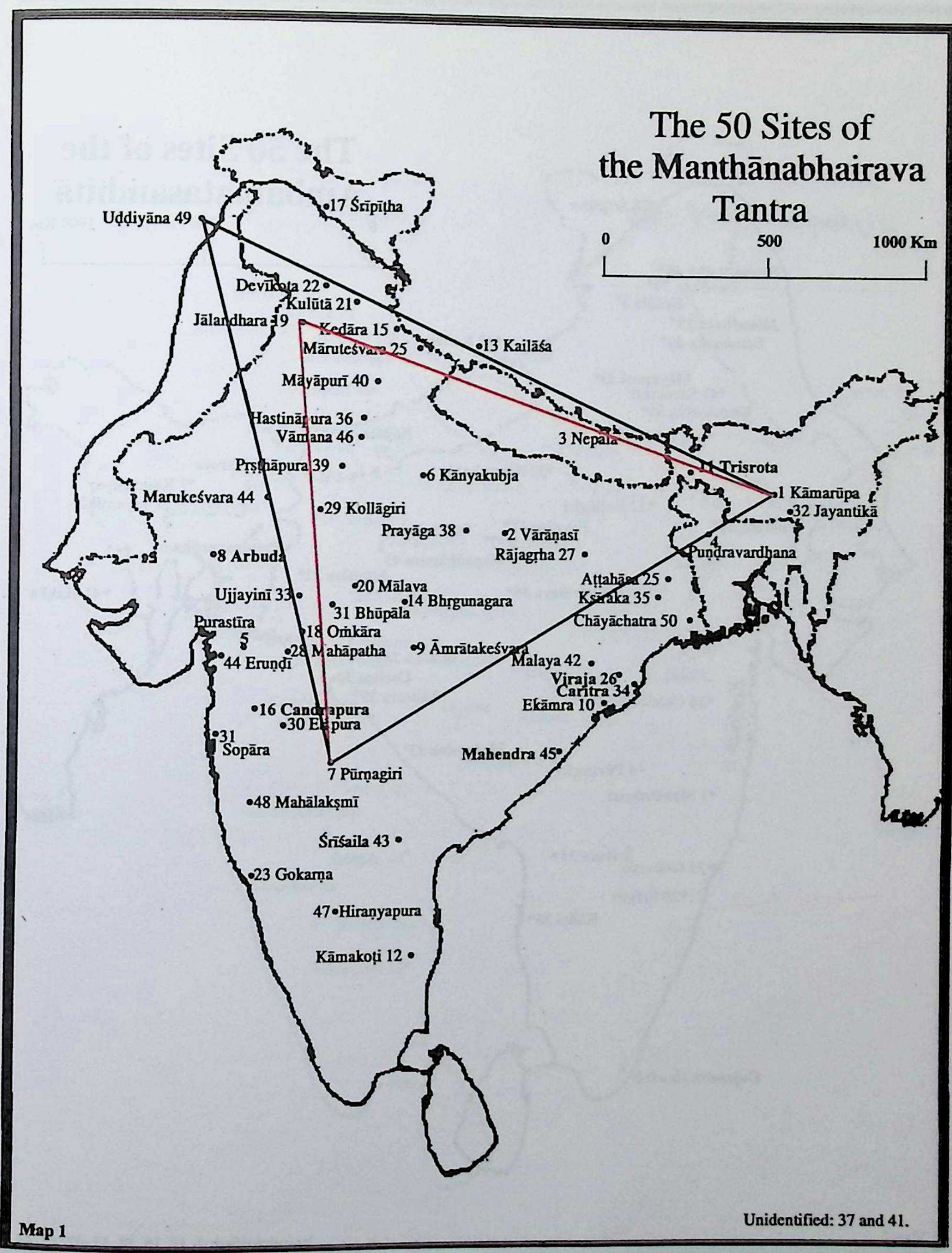
[152] A *ghara* is literally a 'house' or 'home' and, as in this case, a 'monastic centre'.

[153] A *palli* is a small village in general. Specifically, it is small tribal settlement.

[154] KK: Alinātha. According to the CMSS Olinātha travelled to Kāmaru, to the south of which was a place called Trikhaṇḍinī. There he performed austerities according to the instructions of Candrabimbamuni.

[155] KK: Vindhyanātha.

[156] KK: Dakṣiṇāpatha.

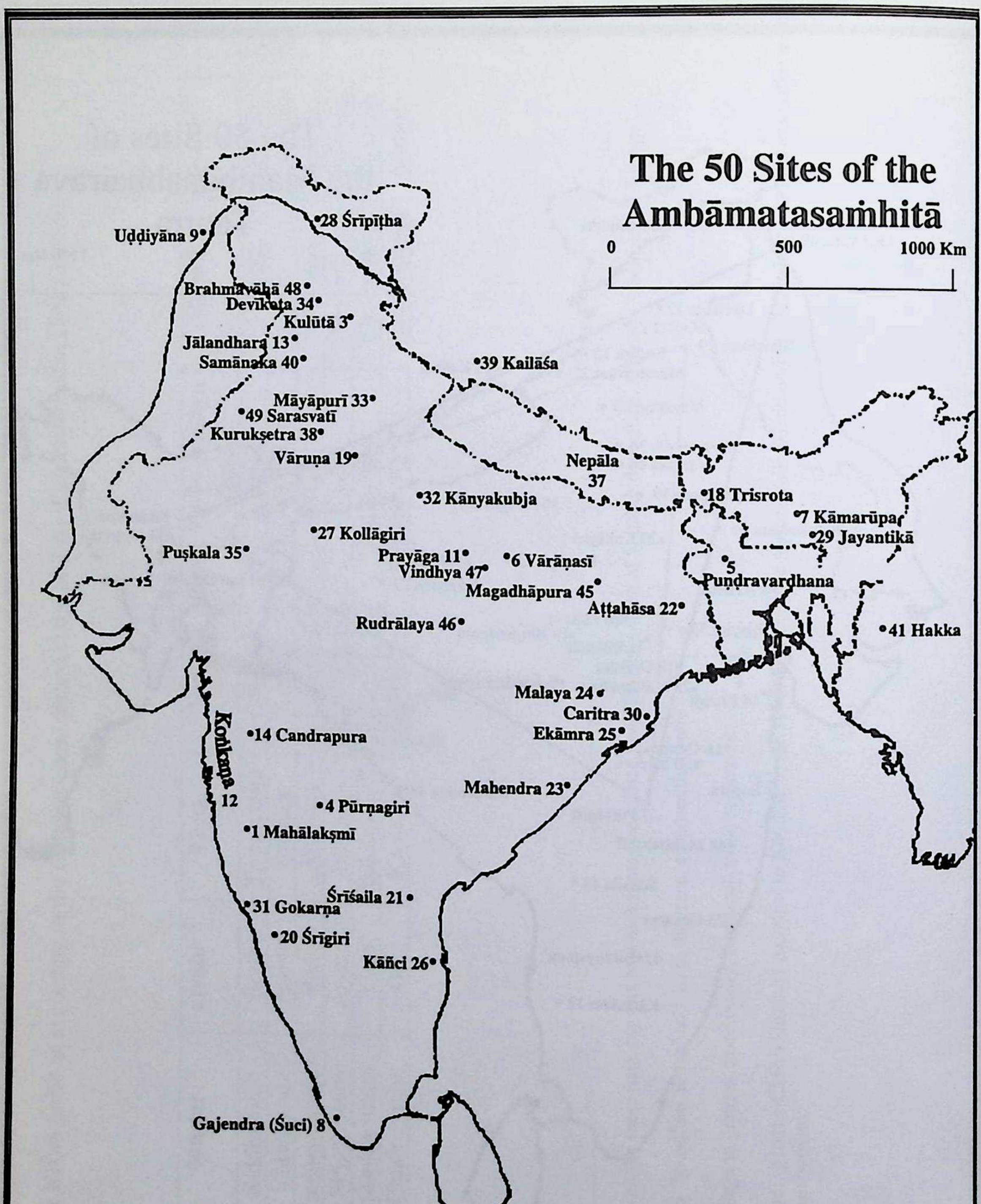


The 50 Sites of the Manthānabhairava Tantra

0
500
1000 Km
Uḍḍiyāna 49
17 Śrīpīṭha
Devīkoṭa 22
Kulūtā 21
Jālandhara 19
Kedāra 15
Mārutesvara 25
13 Kailāśa
Māyāpurī 40
Hastināpura 36
Vāmana 46
3 Nepāla
11 Trisrota
1 Kāmarūpa
32 Jayantikā
Pṛṣṭhāpura 39
6 Kānyakubja
Marukeśvara 44
29 Kollāgiri
Prayāga 38
2 Vārāṇasī
Rājagṛha 27
4 Puṇḍravardhana
8 Arbuda
20 Mālava
Aṭṭahāsa 25
Ujjayinī 33
14 Bhṛgunagara
Kṣīraka 35
31 Bhūpāla
Chāyāchatra 50
Purastīra 5
18 Oṃkāra
28 Mahāpatha
9 Āmrātakeśvara
44 Eruṇḍī
Malaya 42
Viraja 26
Caritra 34
Ekāmra 10
16 Candrapura
30 Elāpura
31 Sopāra
Mahendra 45
7 Pūrṇagiri
48 Mahālakṣmī
Śrīśaila 43
23 Gokarṇa
47 Hiraṇyapura
Kāmakoṭi 12

Map 1

Unidentified: 37 and 41.

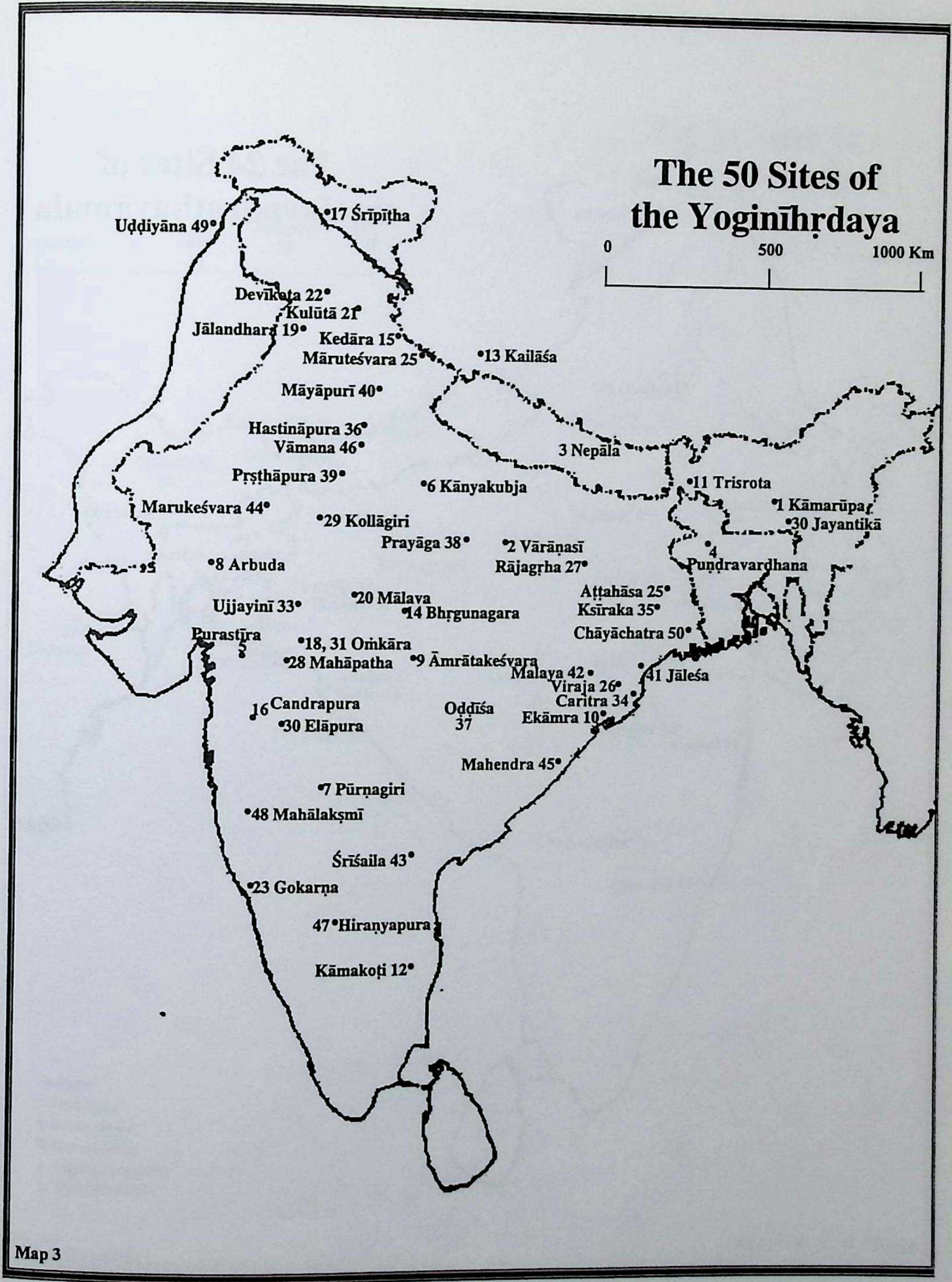


The 50 Sites of the Ambāmatasaṁhitā

0
500
1000 Km
Uḍḍiyāna 9
28 Śrīpīṭha
Brahmavāhā 48
Devīkoṭa 34
Kulūtā 3
Jālandhara 13
Samānaka 40
39 Kailāśa
Māyāpurī 33
49 Sarasvatī
Kurukṣetra 38
Vāruṇa 19
Nepāla
37
32 Kānyakubja
18 Trisrota
7 Kāmarūpa
29 Jayantikā
27 Kollāgiri
Puṣkala 35
Prayāga 11
Vindhya 47
6 Vārāṇasī
5
Puṇḍravardhana
Magadhāpura 45
Aṭṭahāsa 22
Rudrālaya 46
41 Hakka
Malaya 24
Caritra 30
Ekāmra 25
Koṅkaṇa
12
14 Candrapura
Mahendra 23
4 Pūrṇagiri
1 Mahālakṣmī
Śrīśaila 21
31 Gokarṇa
20 Śrīgiri
Kāñci 26
Gajendra (Śuci) 8

Map 2

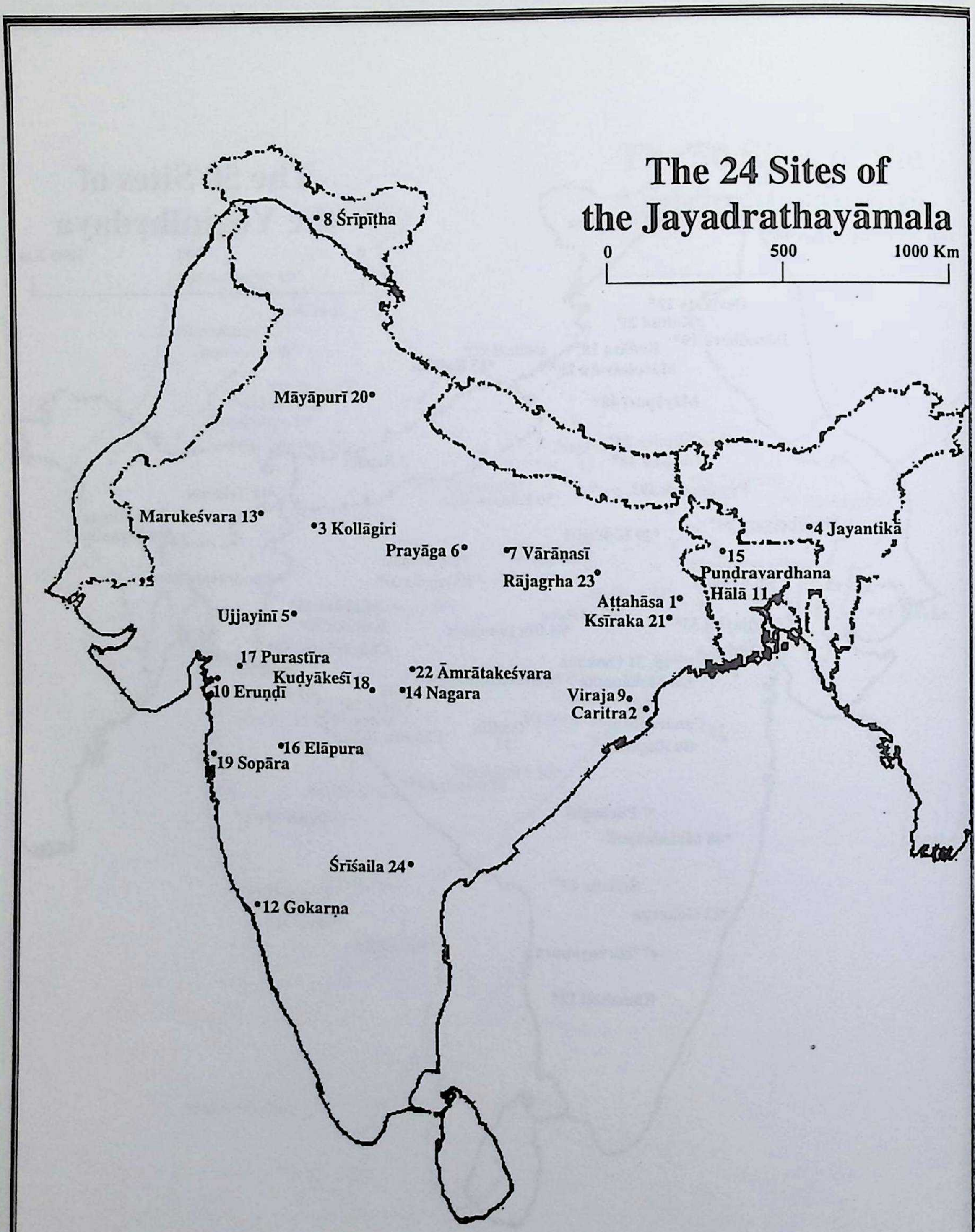
Unindentified: 2, 10, 15, 16, 17, 42, 43, 44



The 50 Sites of the Yoginīhṛdaya

0
500
1000 Km
Uḍḍiyāna 49
17 Śrīpīṭha
Devīkoṭa 22
Kulūtā 21
Jālandhara 19
Kedāra 15
Māruteśvara 25
13 Kailāśa
Māyāpurī 40
Hastināpura 36
Vāmana 46
3 Nepāla
Pṛṣṭhāpura 39
6 Kānyakubja
11 Trisrota
1 Kāmarūpa
Marukeśvara 44
29 Kollāgiri
30 Jayantikā
Prayāga 38
2 Vārāṇasī
4
Puṇḍravardhana
8 Arbuda
Rājagṛha 27
Aṭṭahāsa 25
20 Mālava
Ujjayinī 33
14 Bhṛgunagara
Ksīraka 35
Chāyāchatra 50
Purastīra
5
18, 31 Oṁkāra
28 Mahāpatha
9 Āmrātakeśvara
Malaya 42
41 Jāleśa
Viraja 26
Caritra 34
16 Candrapura
Oḍḍīśa
37
Ekāmra 10
30 Elāpura
Mahendra 45
7 Pūrṇagiri
48 Mahālakṣmī
Śrīśaila 43
23 Gokarṇa
47 Hiraṇyapura
Kāmakoṭi 12

Map 3

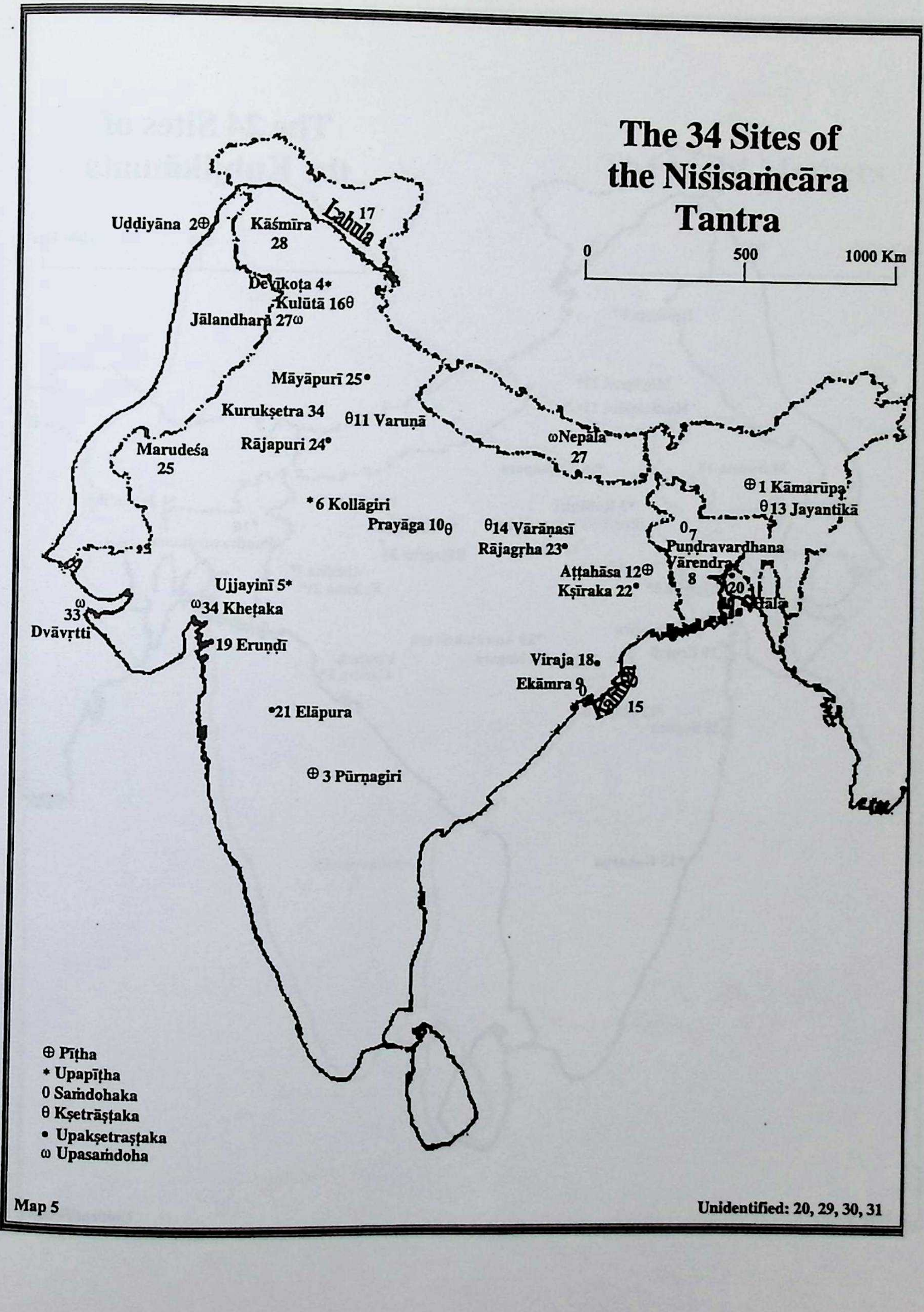


The 24 Sites of the Jayadrathayāmala

0
500
1000 Km
8 Śrīpīṭha
Māyāpurī 20
Marukeśvara 13
3 Kollāgiri
Prayāga 6
7 Vārāṇasī
Rājagṛha 23
4 Jayantikā
15
Puṇḍravardhana
Hālā 11
Aṭṭahāsa 1
Ksīraka 21
Ujjayinī 5
17 Purastīra
Kuḍyākeśī 18
10 Eruṇḍī
22 Āmrātakeśvara
14 Nagara
Viraja 9
Caritra 2
16 Elāpura
19 Sopāra
Śrīśaila 24
12 Gokarṇa

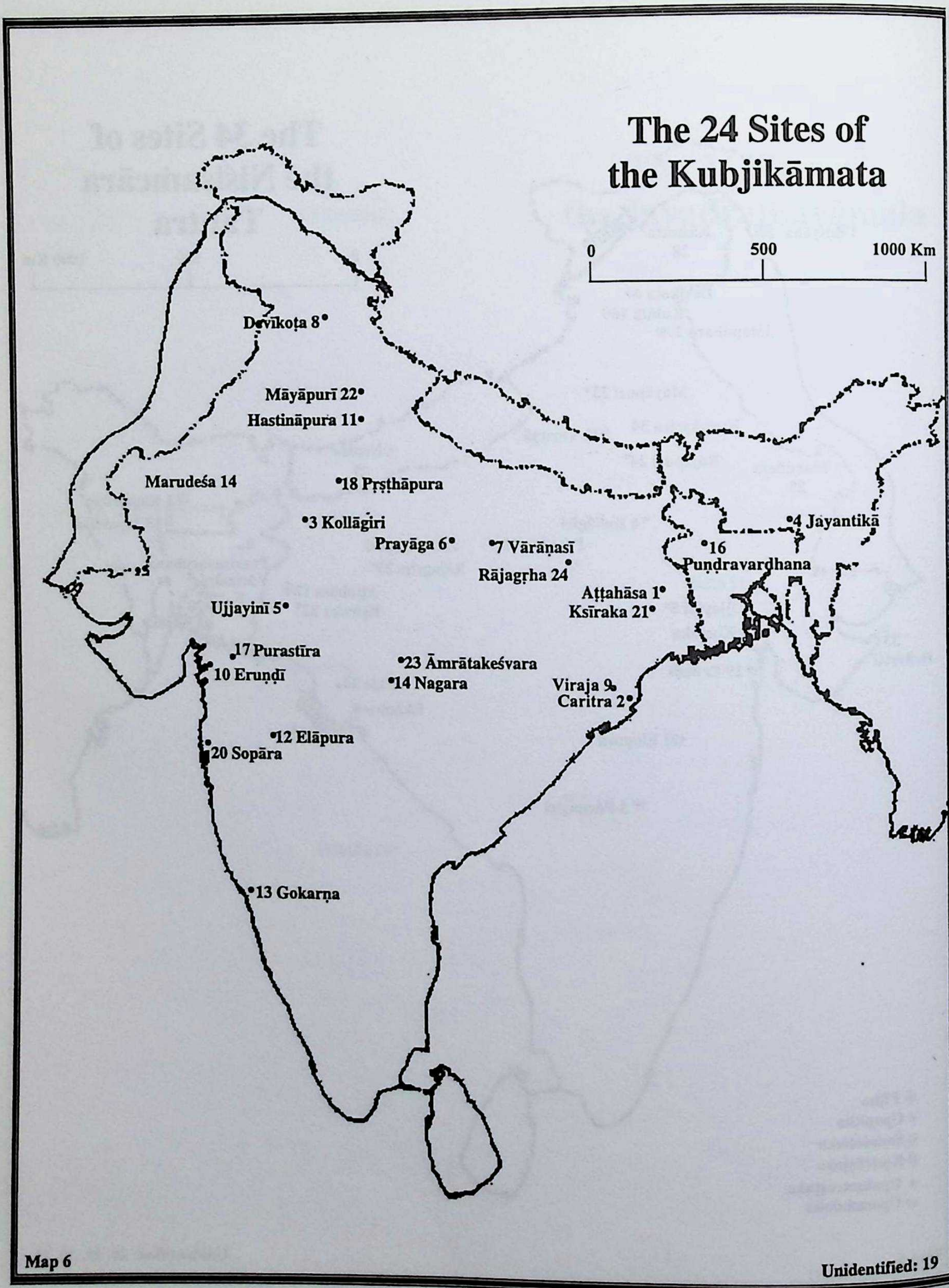
Map 4

Unidentified: 11


The 34 Sites of the Niśisaṁcāra Tantra
0
500
1000 Km
Uḍḍiyāna 2⊕
Kaśmīra 28
17
Lahula
Devīkoṭa 4*
Kulūtā 16θ
Jālandhara 27ω
Māyāpurī 25•
Kurukṣetra 34
θ11 Varuṇā
Rājapuri 24•
Marudeśa 25
ωNepala 27
*6 Kollāgiri
Prayāga 10θ
θ14 Vārāṇasī
Rājagṛha 23•
⊕1 Kāmarūpa
θ13 Jayantikā
07
Puṇḍravardhana
Vārendra 8
20
Aṭṭahāsa 12⊕
Kṣīraka 22•
Ujjayinī 5*
ω34 Kheṭaka
ω 33 Dvāvṛtti
•19 Eruṇḍī
Viraja 18•
Ekāmra 90
Kaliṅga
15
•21 Elāpura
⊕3 Pūrṇagiri
⊕ Pīṭha
* Upapīṭha
0 Saṁdohaka
θ Kṣetrāṣṭaka
• Upakṣetraṣṭaka
ω Upasaṁdoha

Map 5

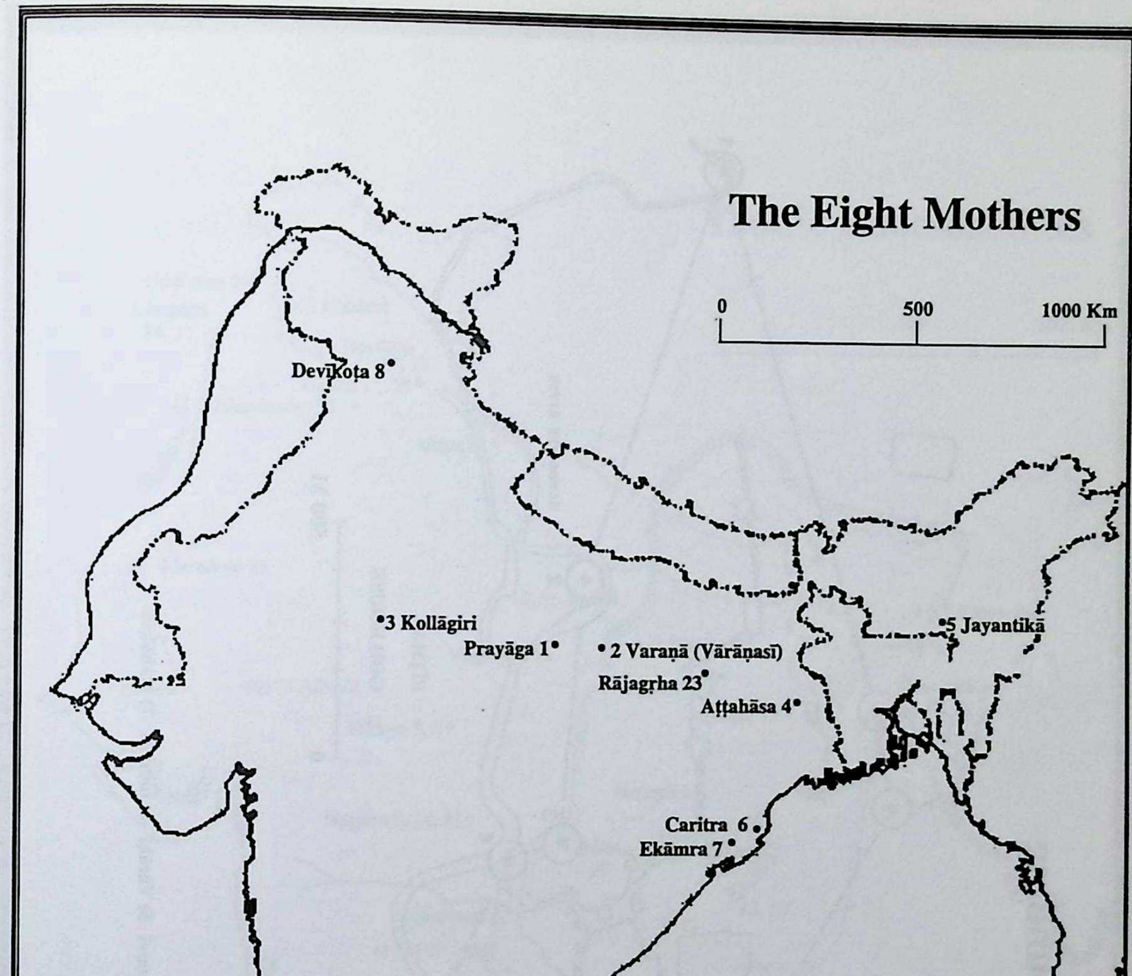
Unidentified: 20, 29, 30, 31



The 24 Sites of the Kubjikāmata

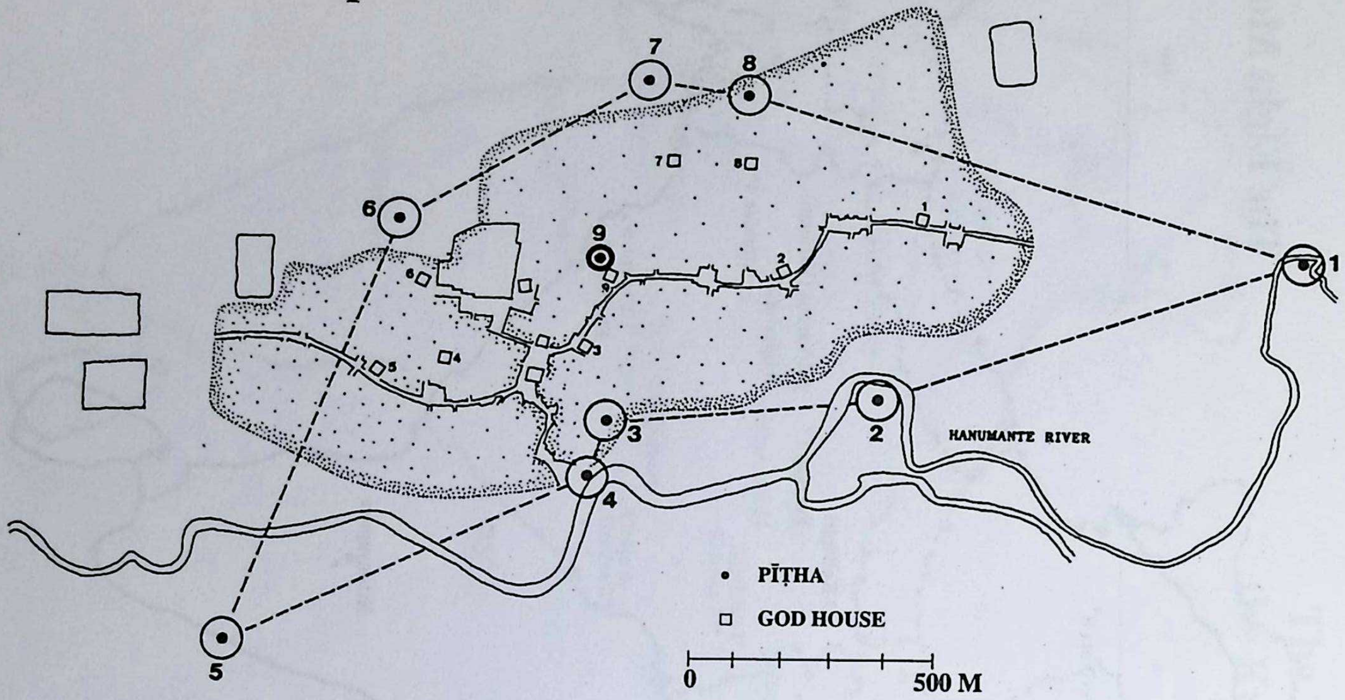
0
500
1000 Km
Devīkoṭa 8
Māyāpurī 22
Hastināpura 11
Marudeśa 14
18 Pṛṣṭhāpura
3 Kollāgiri
Prayāga 6
7 Vārāṇasī
Rājagṛha 24
4 Jayantikā
16
Puṇḍravardhana
Aṭṭahāsa 1
Ksīraka 21
Ujjayinī 5
17 Purastīra
10 Eruṇḍī
23 Āmrātakeśvara
14 Nagara
Viraja 9
Caritra 2
12 Elāpura
20 Sopāra
13 Gokarṇa
Unidentified: 19

Map 6


The Eight Mothers
0
500
1000 Km
Devīkoṭa 8
3 Kollāgiri
Prayāga 1
2 Varaṇā (Vārāṇasī)
Rājagṛha 23
Aṭṭahāsa 4
5 Jayantikā
Caritra 6
Ekāmra 7
Hiraṇyapura
9

Map 7

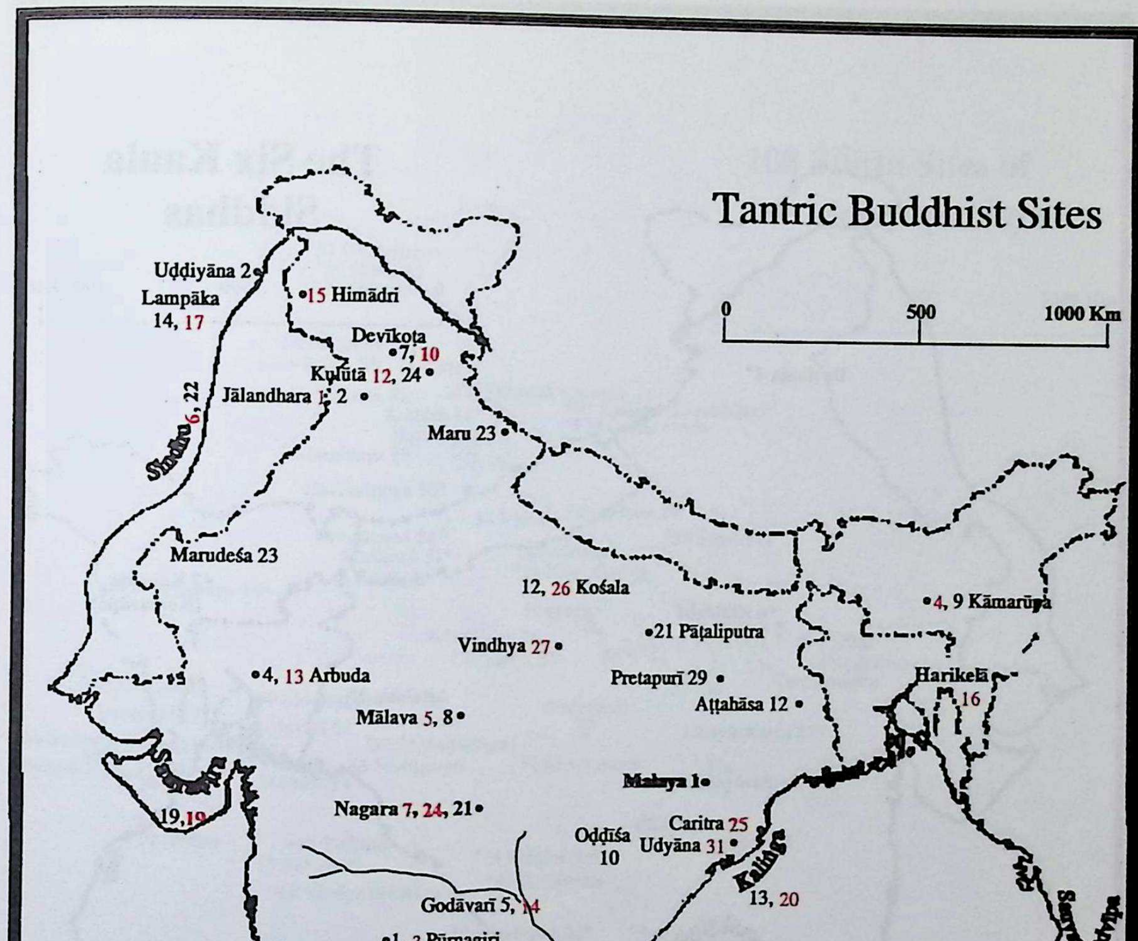
The Eight Mothers surrounding Bhaktapur


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
HANUMANTE RIVER
PĪṬHA
GOD HOUSE
0
500 M

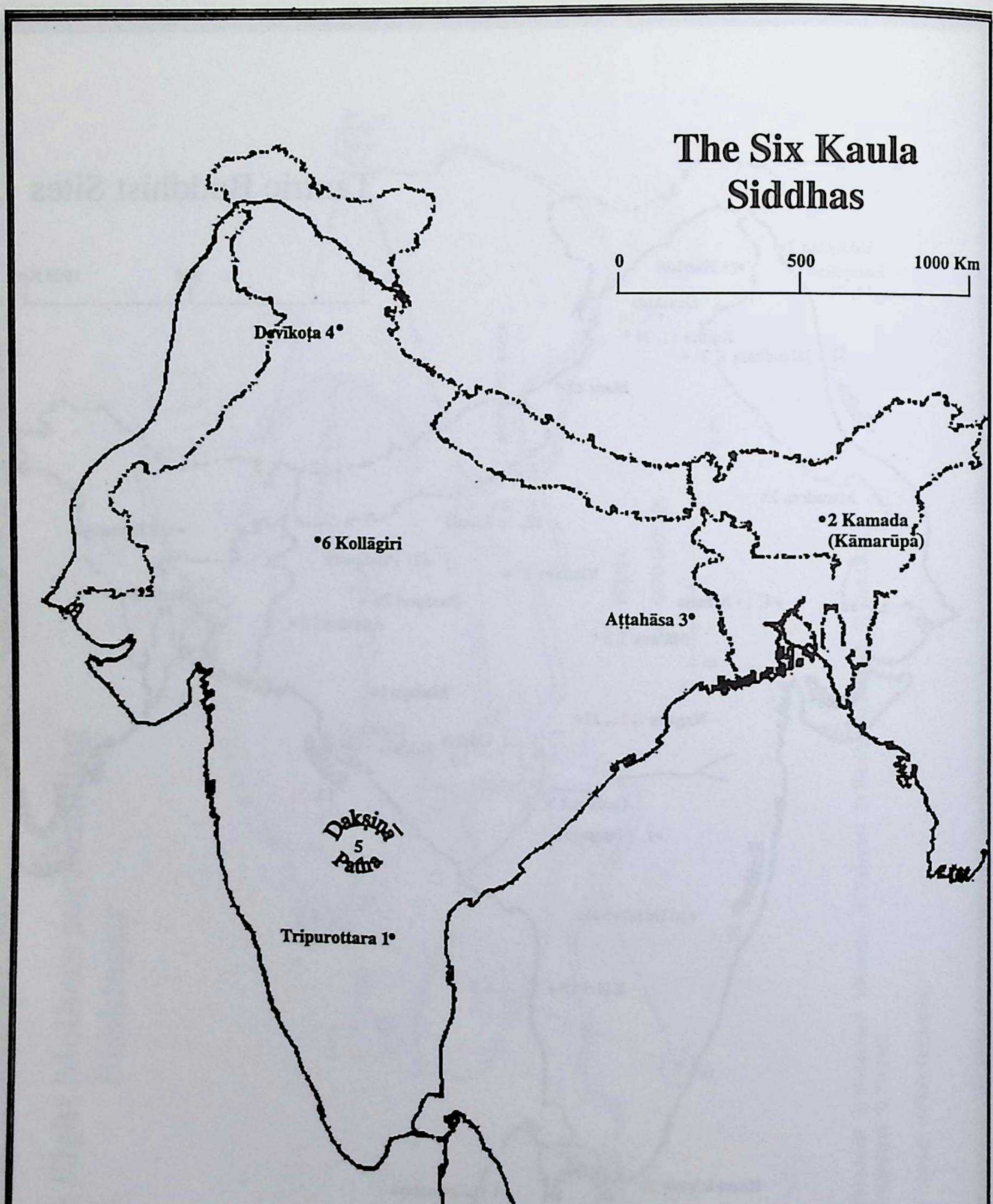
1) Brāhmaṇī 2) Maheśvarī 3)Kumārī 4) Vaiṣṇavī 5) Vārāhī 6) Indrāṇī 7) Mahākālī
8) Mahālakṣmī 9) Tripurā

Map courtesy of Niels Gutschow

Map 8


Tantric Buddhist Sites
0
500
1000 Km
Uḍḍiyāna 2
Lampāka 14, 17
15 Himādri
Devīkoṭa 7, 10
Kulūtā 12, 24
Jālandhara 1, 2
Sindhu 6, 22
Maru 23
Marudeśa 23
12, 26 Kośala
4, 9 Kāmarūpa
21 Pāṭaliputra
Vindhya 27
4, 13 Arbuda
Pretapurī 29
Aṭṭahāsa 12
Harikelā 16
Mālava 5, 8
Malaya 1
19, 19
Nagara 7, 24, 21
Caritra 25
Oḍḍīśa 10
Udyāna 31
Kaliṅga 13, 20
Godāvarī 5, 14
1, 3 Pūrṇagiri
Suvarṇadvīpa 20, 21
Koṅkaṇa 22
30 Udadhestaṭa
Kāñcī 18
Kaumārīpura 28
1 Pullīramalaya
32 Vāpikātīra
Unidentified: 8, 9, 11, 18, 23
Red = HT
Black = BT

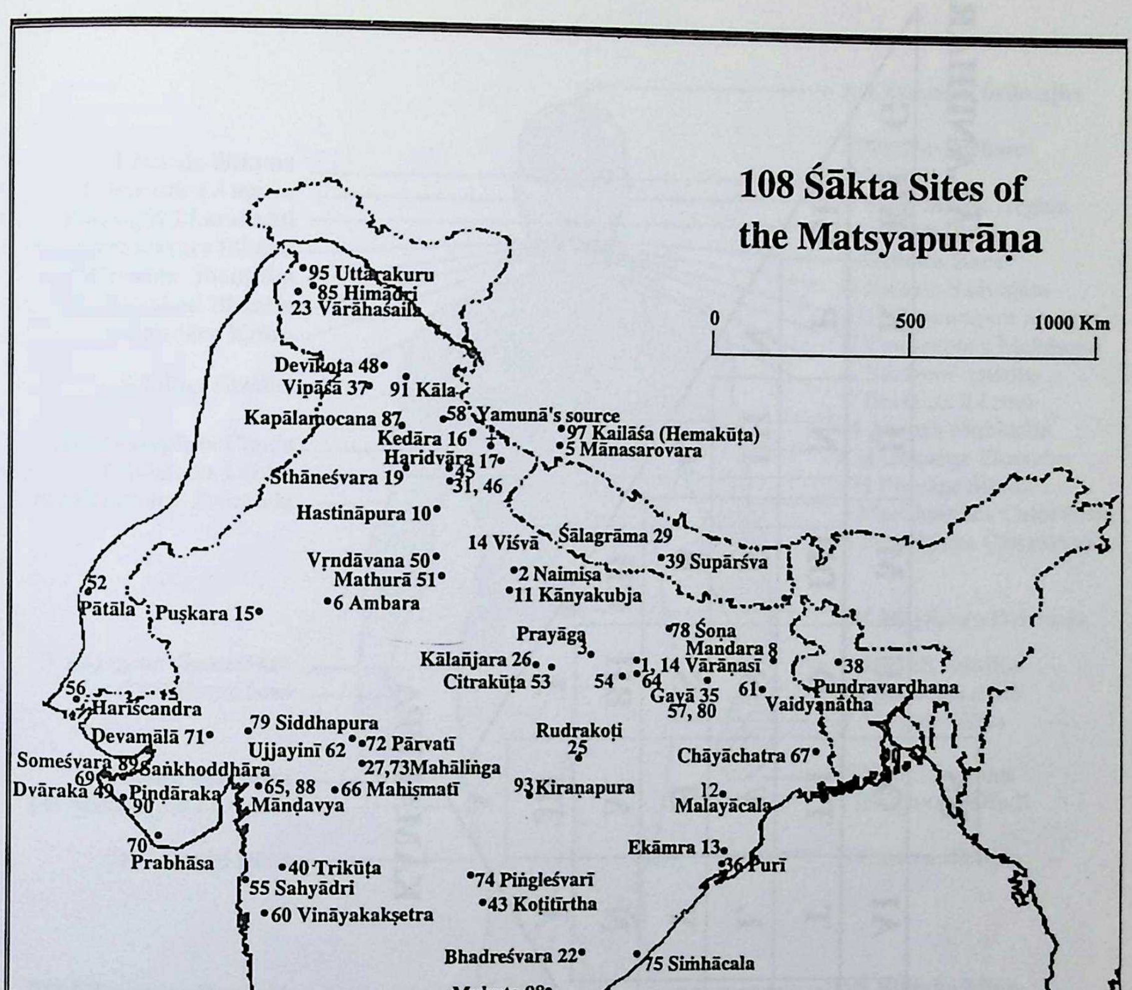
Map 9



The Six Kaula Siddhas

0
500
1000 Km
Devikoṭa 4
6 Kollāgiri
2 Kamada
(Kāmarūpa)
Aṭṭahāsa 3
Dakṣiṇā
5
Patha
Tripurottara 1

Map 10


108 Śākta Sites of the Matsyapurāṇa
0
500
1000 Km
95 Uttarakuru
85 Himādri
23 Vārāhaśaila
Devikoṭa 48
Vipāśā 37
91 Kāla
Kapālamocana 87
58 Yamunā's source
Kedāra 16
97 Kailāśa (Hemakūṭa)
5 Mānasarovara
Haridvāra 17
45
31, 46
Sthāneśvara 19
Hastināpura 10
14 Viśvā
Śālagrāma 29
39 Supārśva
Vṛndāvana 50
Mathurā 51
2 Naimiṣa
11 Kānyakubja
52
Pātāla
Puṣkara 15
6 Ambara
78 Śoṇa
Prayāga
3
Mandara 8
Kālañjara 26
1, 14 Vārāṇasī
38
Citrakūṭa 53
54
64
Gayā 35
57, 80
61
Puṇḍravardhana
Vaidyanātha
56
13
15
Hariścandra
79 Siddhapura
Rudrakoṭi
25
Devamālā 71
Ujjayinī 62
72 Pārvatī
Chāyāchatra 67
Someśvara 89
Śaṅkhoddhāra
69
27,73 Mahāliṅga
Dvāraka 49
Piṇḍāraka
65, 88
66 Mahiṣmatī
93 Kiraṇapura
12
Malayācala
90
Māṇḍavya
70
Prabhāsa
Ekāmra 13
36 Purī
40 Trikūṭa
55 Sahyādri
74 Piṅgleśvarī
43 Koṭitīrtha
60 Vināyakakṣetra
Bhadreśvara 22
75 Siṁhācala
Mukuṭa 98
59 Karavīra
Śrīśaila 21
Gokarṇa 18
82 Kiṣkindhya
Kamalālaya 24
42 Malaya
Utpalāvarta 77
7 Gomaṅta
17 Himācala Mt., Nandā Devī
45 Kubjāmraka
54 Vindhyācala
64 Vindhya Cave
69 Somanātha
83,86,94 Badrīnātha/Puṣṭi
Symbolic names: 101-10
Unidentified: 9, 20, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 41, 47, 68, 76, 92, 96, 99, 100

Map 11

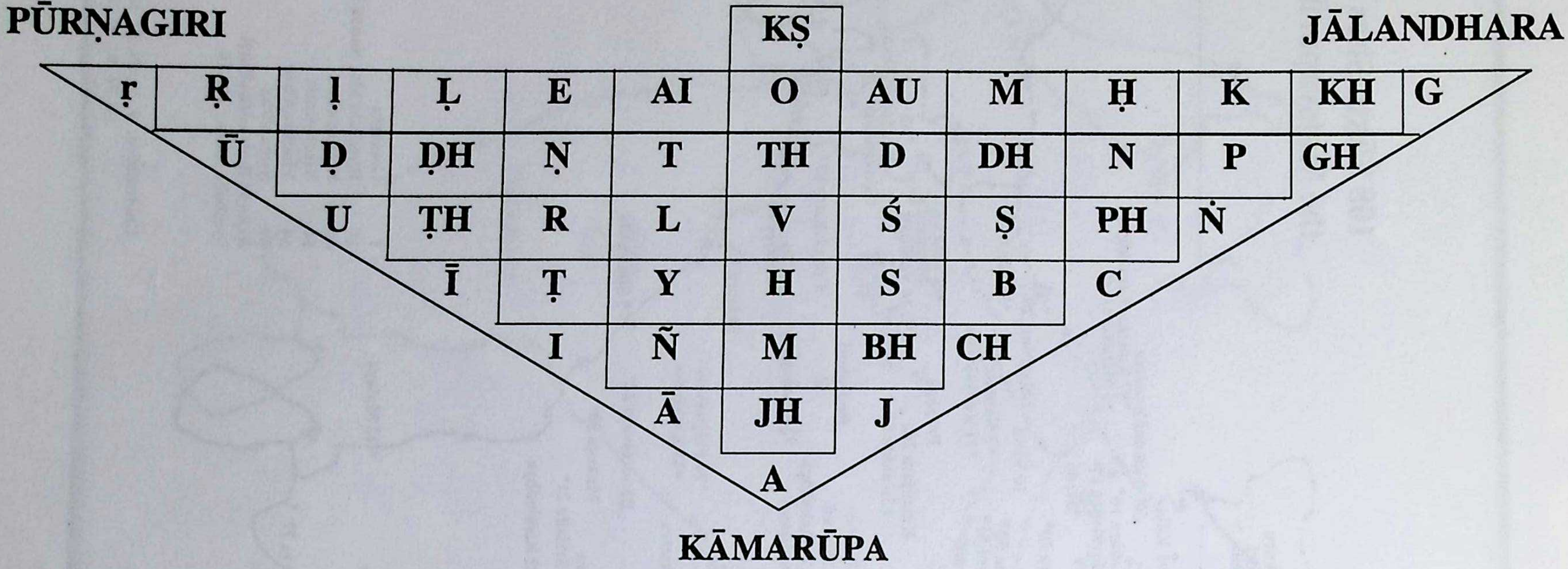
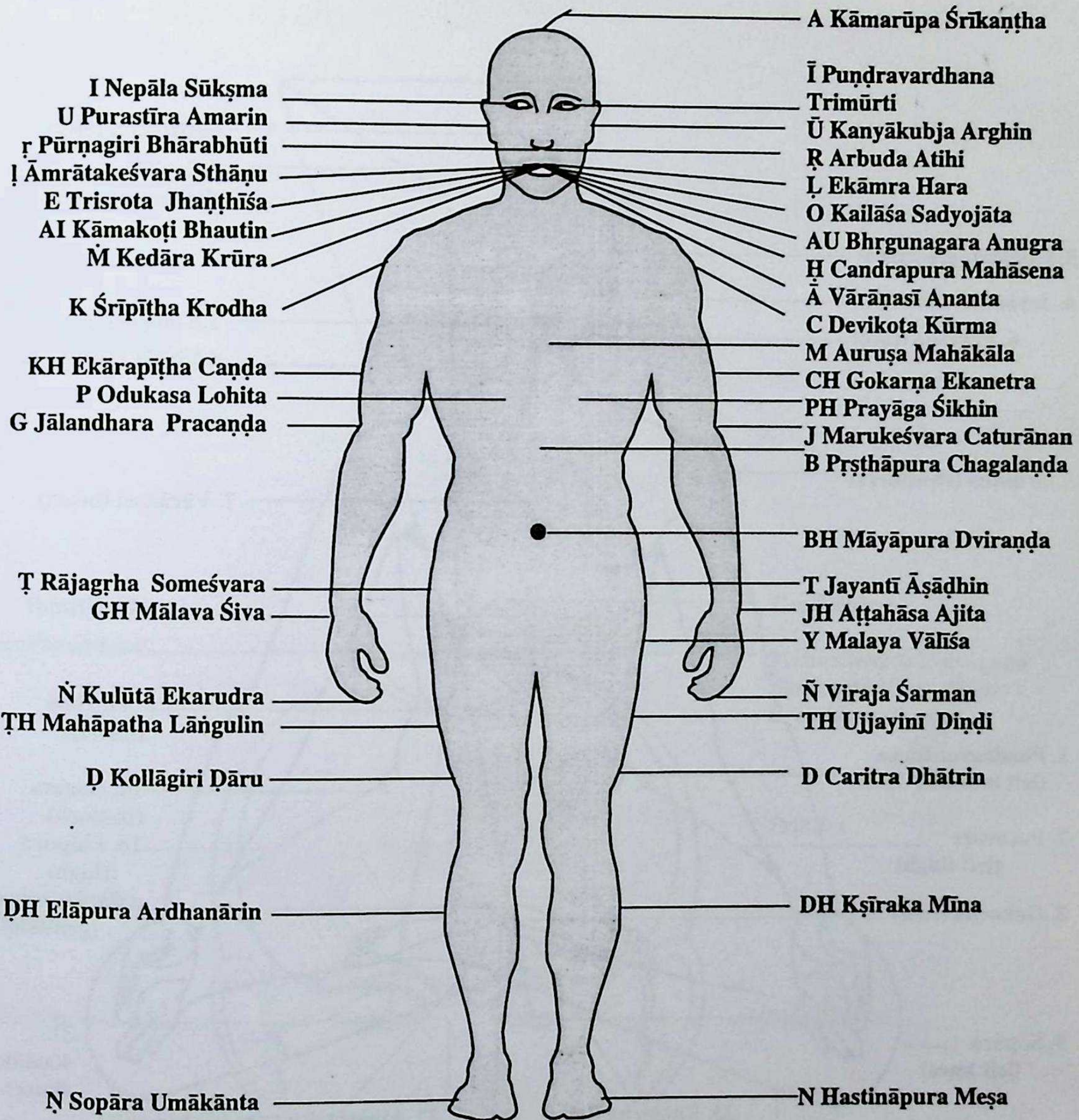

PŪRṆAGIRI
JĀLANDHARA
KṢ
ṛ
Ṛ
Ḷ
Ḹ
E
AI
O
AU
Ṁ
Ḥ
K
KH
G
Ū
Ḍ
ḌH
Ṇ
T
TH
D
DH
N
P
GH
U
ṬH
R
L
V
Ś
Ṣ
PH
Ṅ
Ī
Ṭ
Y
H
S
B
C
I
Ñ
M
BH
CH
Ā
JH
J
A
KĀMARŪPA

Figure 1


A Kāmarūpa Śrīkaṇṭha
I Nepāla Sūkṣma
U Purastīra Amarin
ṛ Pūrṇagiri Bhārabhūti
ḷ Āmrātakeśvara Sthāṇu
E Trisrota Jhaṇṭhīśa
AI Kāmakoṭi Bhautin
Ṁ Kedāra Krūra
K Śrīpīṭha Krodha
KH Ekārapīṭha Caṇḍa
P Odukasa Lohita
G Jālandhara Pracaṇḍa
Ṭ Rājagṛha Someśvara
GH Mālava Śiva
Ṅ Kulūtā Ekarudra
ṬH Mahāpatha Lāṅgulin
Ḍ Kollāgiri Ḍāru
ḌH Elāpura Ardhanārin
Ṇ Sopāra Umākānta
Ī Puṇḍravardhana
Trimūrti
Ū Kanyākubja Arghin
Ṛ Arbuda Atihi
Ḹ Ekāmra Hara
O Kailāśa Sadyojāta
AU Bhṛgunagara Anugra
Ḥ Candrapura Mahāsena
Ā Vārāṇasī Ananta
C Devikoṭa Kūrma
M Auruṣa Mahākāla
CH Gokarṇa Ekanetra
PH Prayāga Śikhin
J Marukeśvara Caturānan
B Pṛṣṭhāpura Chagalaṇḍa
BH Māyāpura Dviraṇḍa
T Jayantī Āṣāḍhin
JH Aṭṭahāsa Ajita
Y Malaya Vālīśa
Ñ Viraja Śarman
TH Ujjayinī Diṇḍi
D Caritra Dhātrin
DH Kṣīraka Mīna
N Hastināpura Meṣa

B	Pṛṣṭhāpura	Chagalaṇḍa	Spine	V	Mahendra	Khaḍgin	Sinews
BH	Māyāpura	Dviraṇḍa	Navel	Ś	Varuṇā	Vakīśa	Bones
M	Auruṣa	Mahākāla	Heart	Ṣ	Hiraṇyapura	Śveta	Marrow
Y	Malaya	Vālīśa	Skin	S	Mahālakṣmī	Bhṛgu	Semen
R	Śrīśaila	Bhujaṅga	Blood	H	Uḍḍiyāna	Lākulīṣa	Breath
L	Eruṇḍī	Pinākin	Flesh	KṢ	Chāyāchatra	Saṁvartaka	Anger

Figure 2

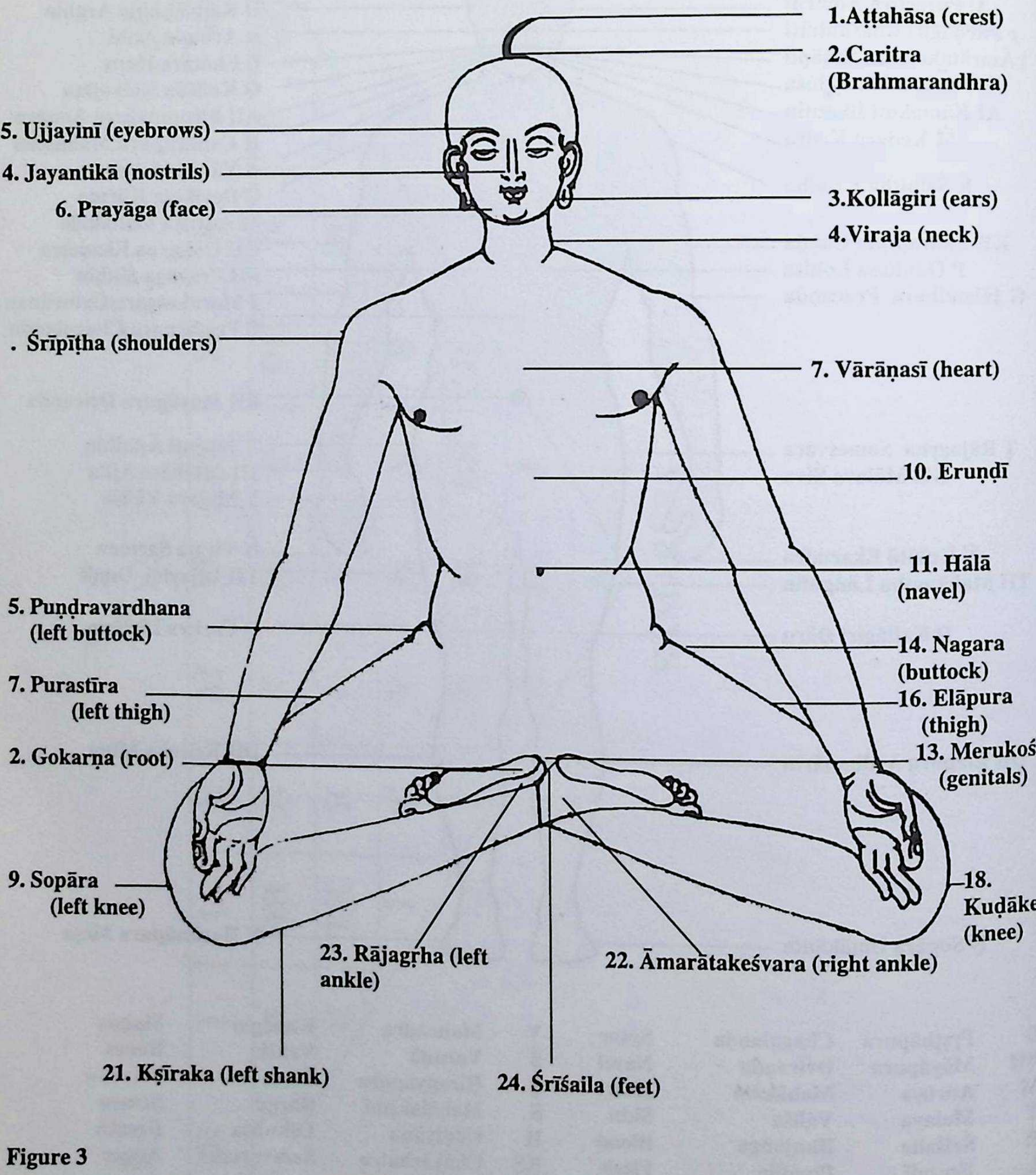

1.Aṭṭahāsa (crest)
2.Caritra (Brahmarandhra)
5. Ujjayinī (eyebrows)
4. Jayantikā (nostrils)
6. Prayāga (face)
3.Kollāgiri (ears)
4.Viraja (neck)
. Śrīpīṭha (shoulders)
7. Vārāṇasī (heart)
10. Eruṇḍī
11. Hālā (navel)
5. Puṇḍravardhana (left buttock)
14. Nagara (buttock)
7. Purastīra (left thigh)
16. Elāpura (thigh)
2. Gokarṇa (root)
13. Merukośa (genitals)
9. Sopāra (left knee)
18. Kuḍākeśī (knee)
23. Rājagṛha (left ankle)
22. Āmarātakeśvara (right ankle)
21. Kṣīraka (left shank)
24. Śrīśaila (feet)

Figure 3

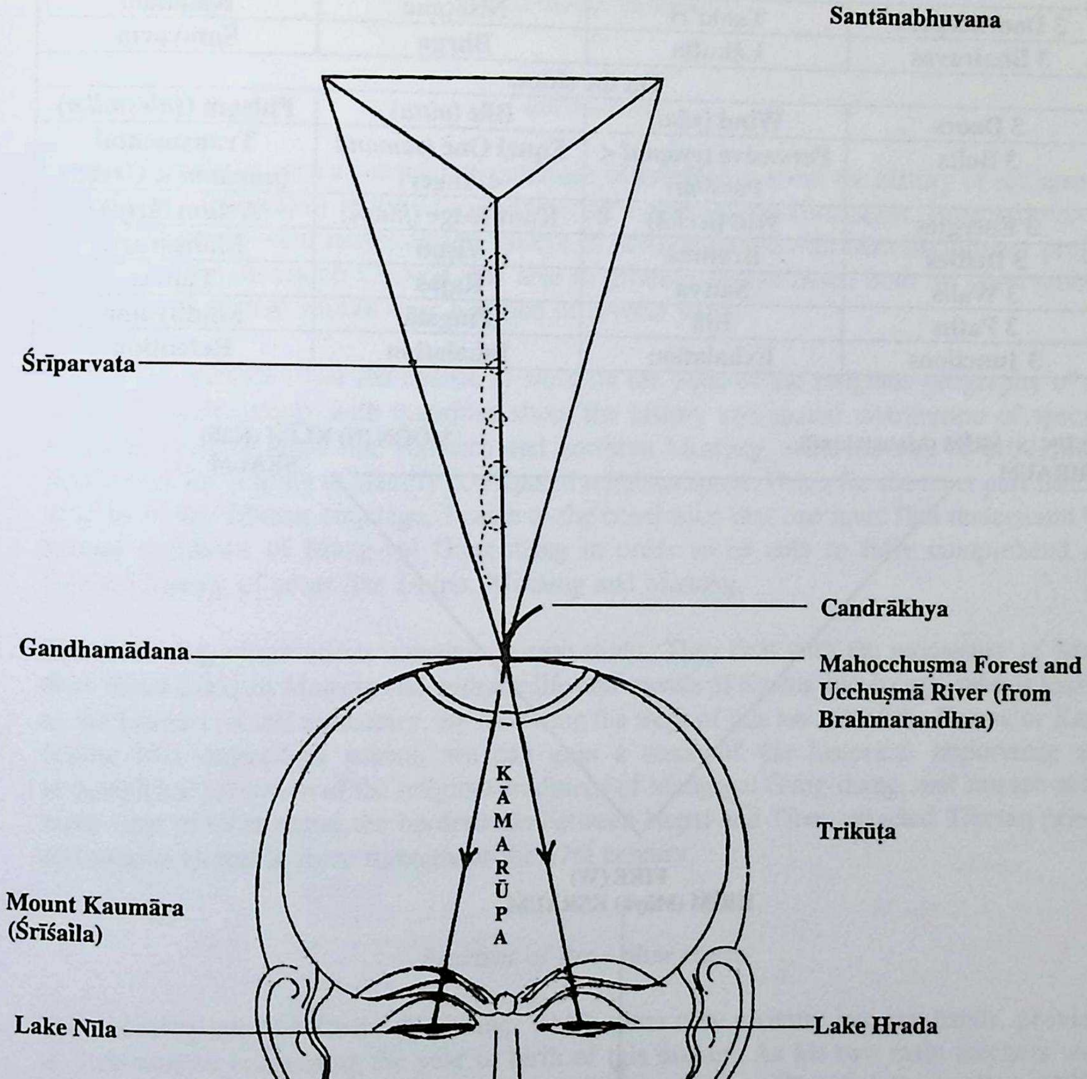

Santānabhuvana
Śrīparvata
Candrākhya
Gandhamādana
Mahocchuṣma Forest and Ucchuṣmā River (from Brahmarandhra)
KĀMARŪPA
Trikūṭa
Mount Kaumāra (Śrīśaila)
Lake Nīla
Lake Hrada
Sahya (Pūrṇagiri) (uvula)
Karālamba (Jālandhara)
Daradaṇḍī Cave (Back of the neck)
Himagahvara/Olamba

Figure 4

On the corners:			
3 Doorkeepers	**Tamo’ri**	**Niśāṭana**	**Kālānala**
3 Bhairavas	**Lākulin**	**Bhṛgu**	**Saṁvarta**
On the sides:			
3 Doors	**Wind (*vāta*)**	**Bile (*pitta*)**	**Phlegm (*śaleṣmika*)**
3 Bolts	**Pervasive (*vyāpinī* < Passion)**	**Equal One (*samanā* < Anger)**	**Transmental (*unmanā* < Greed)**
3 Energies	**Will (*icchā*)**	**Knowledge (*jñanī*)**	**Action (*kriyā*)**
3 Deities	**Brahmā**	**Viṣṇu**	**Maheśvara**
3 Walls	**Sattva**	**Rajas**	**Tamas**
3 Paths	**Iḍā**	**Piṅgalā**	**Madhyamā**
3 Junctions	**Exhalation**	**Inhalation**	**Retention**

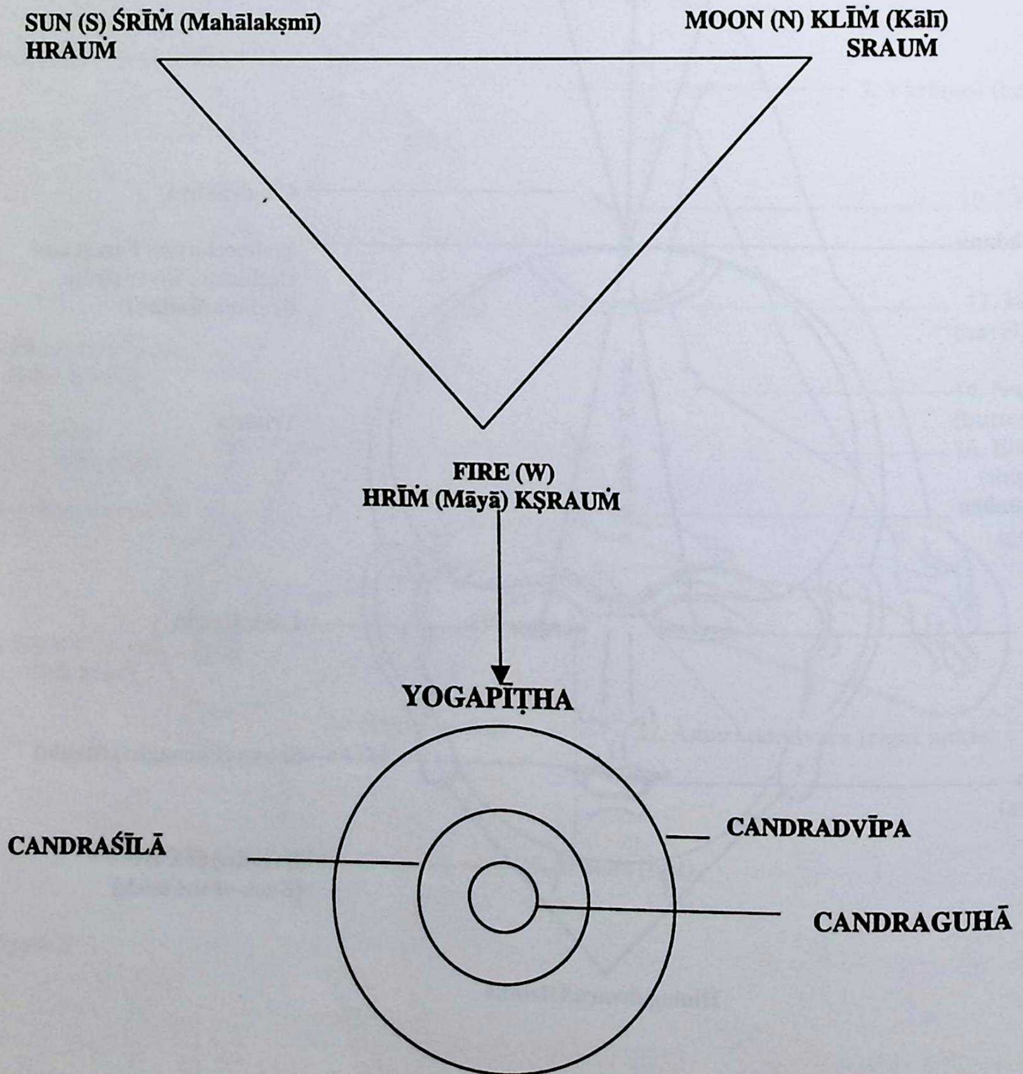

SUN (S) ŚRĪṀ (Mahālakṣmī)
HRAUṀ
MOON (N) KLĪṀ (Kālī)
SRAUṀ
FIRE (W)
HRĪṀ (Māyā) KṢRAUṀ
YOGAPĪṬHA
CANDRAŚĪLĀ
CANDRADVĪPA
CANDRAGUHĀ

Figure 5

Religious Geography and Literary Traditions: The Foundation of the Monastery Brag-dkar bsam-gling*

FRANZ-KARL EHRHARD

Introduction

Recent years have seen a considerable increase of knowledge about the history of settlements and cultural landscapes in the Tibetan-speaking regions of the Himalayas. Especially in the case of Mustang—and neighbouring valleys of northern Nepal—an interdisciplinary project of the German Research Council was able to produce results based both on observational research and textual studies over a period of several years.

Within this project I had the chance to work on the topic of the religious geography of the region. I dealt mainly with questions about the history and spatial distribution of specific religious cults in areas like southern and northern Mustang, with the aim of providing a framework for helping to identify concepts of religious space. Using for the most part literary sources in the Tibetan language, I came to the conclusion that one must first understand the textual traditions of Mang-yul Gung-thang in order to be able to fully comprehend the cultural history of areas like Dolpo, Mustang and Manang.

The following observations constitute a case study. They deal with the monastery of Brag-dkar bSam-gling in Manang and with the life and travels of Karma Blo-bzang, who is known as the founder of this monastery. By following the steps of this teacher of the Karma or Kaṃ-tshang bKa'-brgyud-pa school, we can gain a sense of the historical importance and geographical extension of the religious traditions of Mang-yul Gung-thang, and can see at the same time to what extent the borderlands between Nepal and Tibet attracted Tibetan priests and yogins to reside there throughout the 17th century.

Resident of Brag-dkar rta-so

The autobiography of Karma Blo-bzang, which came only recently into my hands, provides no information concerning the year of birth of this master. As his two main teachers were Grub-mchog dbang-po (1563-1618) and the Sixth Zhva-dmar-pa Chos-kyi dbang-phyug (1584-1630), we can at least place his birth in the final years of the 16th century.

The first of these two teachers was mainly responsible for the upkeep of the site Ras-chung phug in the valley of Yar-[k]lung[s] in Central Tibet; it was there that the young boy studied with Grub-mchog dbang-po for a period of seven years (see Pl. 1). The teachings he received were from a transmission which came through a certain Byams-pa phun-tshogs (1503-1581), and indeed Karma Blo-bzang was later recognized as the reincarnation (*sprul-sku*) of this master.[1] Studies continued with the Sixth Zhva-dmar-pa up till the age of twenty; it was then that Karma Blo-bzang was requested by this important hierarch of the Kaṃ-tshang bKa'-brgyud-pa school to move to western Tibet (*stod*) and to become the resident priest of the monastery Brag-dkar rta-so, a site that is closely connected with the name of the great yogin Mi-la-ras-pa (1028-1111) (see Pl. 2). According to a later chronicle, the trip of Karma Blo-bzang to western Tibet was generously sponsored by Karma bsTan-skyong dbang-po (regnal years 1620-1642), the ruler of Central Tibet at that time.[2]

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*Earlier versions of this paper were read at the final meeting of the programme "State Formation and Settlement Processes in the Tibetan Himalaya" of the German Research Council (DFG) in Schloß Rauischholzhausen (4-6 Dec. 1996), and at the seminar "Results and Aspects of the Nepal-German Project on High Mountain Archaeology" in Kathmandu (23-24 Sept. 1997) in Kathmandu. Special thanks go to Hubert Decleer for making the autobiography of Karma Blo-bzang available, and to Hilde Peetz for joining a tour to Manang during the rainy season.

After spending nine years—mainly in retreat—in Brag-dkar rta-so, Karma Blo-bzang left the region of Mang-yul Gung-thang and travelled still further west, to the sacred mountain Gangs Rin-po-che (=Kailāśa). On this pilgrimage tour he also travelled through the region of Limi (=Sli-mi) and through the nomad lands of Gro-shod. Via Mustang (=Glo-bo) he then reached for the first time the high mountain valley of sNye-shang, and there became acquainted with an old vihāra of modest size. Testing the ground at the spot where this building was located, he found it appropriate for the construction of a larger vihāra and nominated an overseer for that purpose. He also gave instructions to the quite extensive religious community of sNye-shang.[3]

Soon afterwards we see Karma Blo-bzang again in the company of the Sixth Zhva-dmar-pa, and also in that of the Tenth Karma-pa Chos-dbyings rdo-rje (1604-1674), visiting the different sacred sites of south-western Tibet. While the Sixth Zhva-dmar-pa travelled to Nepal and spent fruitful time at the courts of the Malla kings of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, the Tenth Karma-pa left for a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain Gangs Rin-po-che. On his way back he stopped in the town of rDzong-dkar, the capital of Gung-thang, and from there Karma Blo-bzang guided this patriarch of the Kaṃ-tshang bKa'-brgyud-pa school to the monastery Brag-dkar rta-so. As soon afterwards the demise of the Sixth Zhva-dmar-pa was lamented, we can place this excursion in the years 1629/30.[4]

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[1] For a short biography of Grub-mchog dbang-po see Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas & Tshe-dbang Kun-khyab: *Nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*, vol. 2, pp. 343.6-344.7; Byams-pa phun-tshogs was a disciple of lHa-btsun Rin-chen rnam-rgyal (1473-1557), the founder of Brag-dkar rta-so. A complete autobiography is now available: *mKhas grub chen po byams pa phun tshogs kyi rnam thar*, NGMPP Reel No. L 783/3. For a physical representation of Byams-pa phun-tshogs see the statue in Pal 1991: 121; the statement that he flourished in the second half of the 13th century should be corrected.

[2] The chronicle of the monastery of Brag-dkar rta-so by Chos-kyi dbang-phyug gives details of the nomination of Karma Blo-bzang as resident (*gdan 'dzin pa*) of the Mi-la-ras-pa site; see *Drang srong dga' ba'i dal gtam*, fol. 30b/4-5.

[3] See Karma Blo-bzang: *mChod sprin rgya mtsho*, fol. 14a/1-3 (*de nas glo bo rgyud (=brgyud) nas snye shang gi brag dkar bsam gling du phebs / gtsug lag khang rnying pa chung / ri zur 'dir gtsug lag khang che tsam zhig gis (=gi) sa dpyad gzigs nas zhal bkod bzhag / de 'dus (=dus) snye shang gis (=gi) grva rgyun mang po khrid*). For the observation that the monastery of Braga (=Brag-dkar) was founded in the 15th century see van Spengen 1987: 139-140. The presence of members of the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa school in sNye-shang is already documented in the 13th century; see, for example, the biography of bTsun-pa Chos-legs (1437-1521) by 'Jigs-med bzang-po & dBang-phyug dpal-ldan: *Yon tan 'brug sgra*, fol. 10b/5 ff. For the establishment of the Tshal-pa tradition in areas like Nub-ris, Glo-bo and Dol-po at that time cf. Vitali 1996: 397ff. See notes 7 and 10 for references to the presence of an important teacher of the Jo-nang-pa school in sNye-shang (and Bar-bong).

The visit of the Tenth Karma-pa to the site which was under the supervision of Karma Blo-bzang prompted the latter to undertake major building activities and change the actual site by connecting, for example, two different caves of Mi-la-ras-pa. Also at other sacred sites of the yogin, Karma Blo-bzang threw himself into renovating old structures and erecting new buildings: in Grod-phug, in the region of gNya’-nang, he constructed ten new vihāras; and in Yol-mo, present-day Helambu, the temple of rGod-tshang gling was renovated thanks to his efforts. Detailed information is also available on his service to the statue and the temple of the Ārya Va-ti bzang-po in sKyid-grong, the centre of Mang-yul. Craftsmen from Nepal were engaged in all these undertakings.

After his stay in sKyid-grong and his offerings to the miraculously manifested statue of Avalokiteśvara, Karma Blo-bzang received an invitation from Mustang. By way of the valley of Nepal and Gorkha he thus entered a second time the high mountain valley of sNye-shang. There he laid the foundation for the vihāra of Brag-dkar bSam-gling, and also inaugurated a teaching seminary. Afterwards he spent half a year at Muktināth (= Chu-mig brgya-rtsa); among his audience, the name of dPon-drung Rin-po-che bSod-nams rgyal-po is accorded special mention: he was a member of the noble sKyar-skya [s]gang-pa family, the rulers of the Muktināth Valley.[5]

Travels in Mustang and Dolpo

The invitation for the next visit of Karma Blo-bzang to the region of Mustang came from dPon-drung Khro-bo rnam-rgyal, the ruling prince of the Muktināth Valley in the first half of the 17th century. In sNye-shang Karma Blo-bzang was welcomed by the monastic community and the laity of Brag-dkar bSam-gling, where he gave extensive teachings based on the cycle *Yang zab dkon mchog spyi ’dus*, a “treasure-work” (*gter ma*) recovered by Rig-’dzin ’Ja’-tshon snying-po (1585-1656).

While he was in rDzar, his host was the above-mentioned bSod-nams rgyal-po. There invitations came to him from [d]Kag and rDzong, issued by dPon-drung Khro-bo rgyal-mtshan and Khro-bo bSam-grub respectively. Karma Blo-bzang was thus greatly honoured at the three fortresses of the Muktināth Valley by each of the dukes and received a large number of offerings.[6]

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[4] For biographical data concerning the Sixth Zhva-dmar-pa and the Tenth Karma-pa see Chos-kyi ’byung-gnas & Tshe-dbang Kun-khyab (as in fn.1): pp. 255.2-299.2, and pp. 324.1-336.4. The activities of the Tenth Karma-pa as an artist are sketched by Jackson (1996: 247-258); for the journey of the Sixth Zhva-dmar-pa to the valley of Nepal see Ehrhard 1997: 128-132.

[5] The activities of Karma Blo-bzang in gNya’-nang are documented in pilgrimage guides to the area; see Huber 1997: 272. For the second stay in sNye-shang see *mChod sprin rgya mtsho*, fol. 39a/4-b/2 (*yang glo bo nas gnyer pa rab bzang gdan ’dren du byung nas / skyid grong bol po (=bal po) rgyud (=brgyud) gor kha dang tsu ra’i rong nas snye shang du sleb (=bslebs) / brag dkar bsam gling gis (=gi) gtsug lag khang gsar pa’i gzhi legs par gting / chos grva yang btsugs*). Different members of the sKyar-skya [s]gang-pa noble family, who were donors to Tibetan priests, as well as the idealized landscape of Muktināth are described in Ehrhard 1993a: 26-28. For Muktināth as a Hindu pilgrimage place see Kaschewsky 1994: 139-146.

After his return from a trip to northern Mustang, the next step in establishing the monastery of Brag-dkar bSam-gling was furnishing the new building with statues and stūpas, and applying paintings to the inner walls of the vihāra. For this purpose four craftsmen from the Nepal Valley came to sNye-shang and stayed there for a period of nine months. The supervision of the work was entrusted to Karma dBang-rgyal, a disciple of Karma Blo-bzang, and the one who sculpted the great statue of the future Buddha Maitreya; the autobiography devotes special attention to a pair of stūpas in the new monastery that contained many sacred articles and relics (see Pls. 3 & 4).

Another invitation to Karma Blo-bzang arrived from the region of Dol-po, and thus the master travelled to the valley of Bar-bong, to the former residence of Jo-nang Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1507-1566). After one month in the valley he moved on to rTa-rab, where he encountered the temples of dGon-pa Me-'byems and Byams-pa lHa-khang. Back in Bar-bong Karma Blo-bzang founded a monastery under the name gSang-sngags chos-gling and gave extensive teachings according to the traditions of the *Ras chung snyan brgyud* and the treasure-works of Rig-'dzin 'Ja'-tshon snying-po.[7]

Still other regions of Dol-po were visited by Karma Blo-bzang. Thus we find him at the monastery of dMar-sgom—founded by bSod-nams blo-gros (1516-1581)—where he stayed in the company of a certain Zhabs-drung dPal-ldan don-grub. Among his disciples are mentioned members of the family of rNam-grol bzang-po (b. 1504), an important teacher of Dol-po's easternmost valley. Soon afterwards a teaching seminary was inaugurated at the pilgrimage site Crystal-Mountain Dragon-Roar (*shel gyi ri bo 'brug sgra*) for a period of five months; a group of 58 people were willing to enter a three-year retreat at this most important "holy place" (*gnas*) of Dol-po. Karma Blo-bzang took great interest in the legends about Grub-thob Seng-ge ye-shes, a contemporary of 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten mgon-po (1143-1212), who had opened the place as a pilgrimage site and whose "relics" (*gdung rten*) were an object of veneration. After declining the offer to take up duties as resident of the monastery of dMar-sgom, Karma Blo-bzang returned via rTa-rab to the southern part of Dol-po.[8]

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[6] For the genealogy of the sKyar-skya [s]gang-pa family, and especially the person of Khro-bo rnam-rgyal, see Schuh 1995: 49-50; cf. also Vitali 1997: 1032ff. This third visit to sNye-shang is described in *mChod sprin rgya mtsho*, fol. 46b/2-4 (*de rjes glo bo nas dpon drung khro bo rnam rgyal dang / bla ma bu chen / bde gshegs bsod nams rgyal po'i btsun mo / brag dkar bsam gling lha sde mi sde thams cad kyis gdan 'dren la rten gsum ba'i bkod pa rim pa du ma dang bcas bsam gling chos sder slebs (=bslebs)*). Shortly before this journey Karma Blo-bzang had travelled to gCung Ri-bo-che in Byang, where he had studied the cycle *Yang zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus* under a direct disciple of Rig-'dzin 'Ja'-tshon snying-po; for the contents of this cycle see Ehrhard 1993b: 81-89.

[7] The details of the furnishing of Brag-dkar bSam-gling can be found in *mChod sprin rgya mtsho*, fols. 52a/3-57b/2. For the area of sTeng-[b]shod lung in Bar-bong, to which Karma Blo-bzang was invited, see Ehrhard 1998: 10-11, fn. 8. The stay of Kun-dga' grol-mchog in the region is described in his work *sKal bzang dad pa'i shing rta 'dren byed*, pp. 453.3 ff.

Following his arrival at gSang-sngags chos-gling, the autobiography relates an episode which deserves to be attended to carefully:

> Again, when I came to gSang-sngags chos-gling and stayed there, the two brother kings of Jumla happened to arrive on their way to Mustang. Both had the behaviour of the sons of gods. An interpreter was appointed [and I spoke]: "Mahāraja[s], isn't it cold for some [of you]?" [They replied:] "Lama, because of your kindness we haven't frozen."
>
> [Then I spoke again:] "For what reason did you come here?" [One of them replied:] "As a king of the border and we—[these] two [parties]—don't suit [each other], a time of quarrels has descended upon us; [thus] I have to go to Thab-lo (?). Which of the two [parties] will win, [and] which will be defeated—we have come [here] to ask [you such] a prophecy. It is a great kindness that you, a great lama of Tibet, have arrived as our subject. If you stay [here] forever, happiness will come to us; therefore you must stay!" Offering whatever service was possible, they thus spoke [to me].
>
> For an answer [to their question] I investigated the mind of the Maharāja[s] [and spoke:] "I myself am actually not a good lama, [but] my teacher is the Omniscient One (=Buddha Śākyamuni). I myself, I don't know very much, but you kings of Jumla—you are [among] the greatest kings on earth; this is told in our Dharma [scriptures]. No king will take the risk of waging war against you. If one appears, he will have [only] the wish to be defeated."
>
> With a "Hā! Hā!" [the kings] went away glad at heart. Later I heard the news that the king of the Indian border was defeated, having been deceived from inside [his court], and that all his territory was lost to Jumla.[9]

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[8] The teacher dPal-ldan don-grub and the tradition of the monastery dMar-sgom are dealt with in Ehrhard 1996: 57ff.; this information is based on a *thob-yig* ('record of teachings received') by Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (b. 1628), a disciple of Karma Blo-bzang. For references to the site Crystal-Mountain Dragon-Roar see *ibid.*: 63, fn. 14, and Schicklgruber 1996: 118, fn. 4. The opening of this site by Grub-thob Seng-ge ye-shes is described in 'Phrin-las chos-'phel: *Dad pa'i skya rengs*, fol. 9a/5ff.; for further relevant material on this sacred mountain in Dolpo see Mathes 1999: 65-74.

[9] For this episode see Karma Blo-bzang: *mChod sprin rgya mtsho*, fols. 70a/3-71a/5 (*slar gsang sngags chos gling du phyin sdad yod skabs / rgyal po 'dzum lang sku mchad (=mched) gnyis glo bor phebs pa'i zhor la 'phebs byung / lha'i bu 'dra ba rnams (=rnam) spyod can gnyis 'dug / lo tstsha bcug / mahāradza / la la grang mo ma byung ngam byas bas / bla ma khyed kyis (=kyi) bka' drin las 'khyags po ma byung lo / 'dir ci la byon byas pas / mtha'i rgyal po gcig dang nged gnyis ma 'tshams par 'khrug dus btab zin / nga thab lo la 'gro rgyu yin / nged gnyis su rgyal su pham gyi lung bstan zhu ru 'ongs pa yin / khyed bod kyi bla ma chen po nga'i mnga' 'bangs su phebs pa bka' drin che / rgyun du bzhugs pa na nged la skyid yongs pas bzhugs dgos / zhabs rtogs (=togs) gang drag 'bul gsungs byung / de la lan rgyal po chen po thugs la brtags / nga bla ma bzang po rang min / nga'i bla mas (=bla ma) ni thams cad mkhyen pa yin / ngas ni cher mi shes / 'on khyang khyed 'dzum lang rgyal po ni sa'i steng na che ba'i rgyal po yin*

Later Years and Disciples

As an invitation had arrived from the "ruling prince" (*khri thog pa*) of the Muktināth Valley, Karma Blo-bzang made his way again to sNye-shang, and from there he went on to the valley of Nepal, where he undertook a pilgrimage to holy places, including the stūpas of Svayaṃ-bhūnāth and Bodhnāth. In Yol-mo he revisited the monastery of rGod-tshang gling and met there his disciple Karma Gu-ru.

When Karma Blo-bzang had nearly reached the age of 70 years he retired to the region of sNar, to the north of sNye-shang. There he stayed mainly in a cave called bSam-grub phug, a site that had been blessed in earlier times by the presence of Jo-nang Kun-dga' grol-mchog; the cave itself had had its name given to it by a fellow yogin who had met Karma Blo-bzang there. This was O-rgyan dpal-bzang (1617-1677), a native of southern Mustang, who is still remembered as the founder of the monastery sKu-tshab gter-lnga near the fortress of dGa'-rab rDzong.[10]

Among the activities of Karma Blo-bzang in sNar that should be mentioned is the construction of a stūpa, which was finalized by a proper "act of consecration" (*rab gnas*). A similar act of consecration was also finally conducted for the monastery Brag-dkar bSam-gling in sNye-shang; this event, said to have been accompanied by many auspicious signs, is dated in the autobiography to the year (see Pl. 5).

Let me close this account of the the life of Karma Blo-bzang with a list of his most important disciples. The chronicle of Brag-dkar rta-so calls them the "four great sons, who fulfilled [his] commission" (*bka' babs kyi bu chen bzhi*). These are the "treasure-discoverer" (*gter ston*) Gar-dbang rdo-rje snying-po (1640-1685), rGyal-dbang seng-ge (b. 1628), Śākya bDud-'dul (from the family of Rig-'dzin bsTan-gnyis gling-pa [1480-1535]) and the previously mentioned Bla-ma Karma Gu-ru.[11]

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par nged kyi chos nas bshad / khyed la 'dren bsdo ba'i rgyal po ni mi yongs / gal te byung na kho pham 'dod pa yin mod byas pas / hā hā zer dga' nas songs bas / de nas rgya gar mtha'i rgyal po de nang bslus byung nas 'pham / mnga' zhabs thams cad 'dzum lang la shor 'dug zer ba thos byung).

The role of Jumla in the western regions of Nepal and the sovereignty it had established over Mustang by at least the 1630s is dealt with by Schuh (1994: 68ff.). The rulers of Jumla were in later years also active in financing renovations of Tibetan temples in southern Dol-po; see Ehrhard 1998: 5-7. The king of the Indian border referred to is the king of Parbat.

[10] The stay of Jo-nang Kun-dga' grol-mchog in sNar is also reported by him in *sKal bzang dad pa'i shing rta 'dren byed*, pp. 406.3ff. & 453.1-3. An account of the foundation of the monastery sKu-tshab gter-lnga, in the year 1668, and basic biographical data on O-rgyan dpal-bzang are given in Ehrhard (in press). Before the actual foundation, O-rgyan dpal-bzang had travelled to the valley of Bar-bong as well, having been invited there by the same family that brought Karma Blo-bzang to southern Dol-po. For an investigation into the history of this family the life story of Kun-bzang klong-yangs (1644-1696) would be a good starting point.

[11] The date of the consecration of Brag-dkar bSam-gling is the only year noted by name in the whole autobiography; see Karma Blo-bzang: *mChod sprin rgya mtsho*, fols. 81b/5-82a/2 (*glo bo rgyud (=brgyud) snye shang brag dkar gyi lha khang gi rab gnas la spyan 'dren bzhus /*

Conclusion

There is one final point I want to emphasize at the end of this paper. It concerns the geographical extension of the religious influence of the Karma or Kaṃ-tshang bKa'-brgyud-pa school as exemplified in the activities of Karma Blo-bzang. The geographical range of his religious influence can be seen as as a structure that brings, first, the monasteries of Ras-chung phug (in the valley of Yar-[k]lung[s]) and Brag-dkar rta-so (in Mang-yul Gung-thang) into a spatial relationship. This I would like to call a transregional structure of "spatial efficacy" (*Raumwirksamkeit*) manifested by this specific monastic tradition. On a regional level, secondly, this spatial efficacy extends from Brag-dkar rta-so to the monastery of Brag-dkar bSam-gling in sNye-shang. If we focus on the spiritual and political career of Karma Blo-bzang in southern Mustang and Dol-po we could, thirdly, speak of a local level of spatial efficacy.

These observations concerning the person who was behind the foundation of the best-known religious building in Manang (and who followed up this project throughout his whole life) are based mainly on one literary tradition; they definitely need to be supplemented by a wider range of sources.[12] But it should have become clear that literary traditions can be used to guide us in identifying certain concepts of religious geography and thus to widen our knowledge still more about the history of settlements and cultural landscapes.

CORRIGENDA

p. 104: (see Pls. 3 & 4) → (see Pls. 4 & 5)
p.106.18: → . . . to the year 1664
p. 106: (see Pl. 5) → (see Pl. 3)

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shing 'brug zla ba drug pa'i tshes bcos (=bco) lnga'i nyin rab gnas mdzad / bkra shis pa'i dge mtshan dpag med byung).

For the list of the disciples see Chos-kyi dbang-phyug: *Drang srong dga' ba'i dal gtam*, fol. 33a/5-b/1 (*zab mo gter gyi bka' bab pa gter ston gar dbang rdo rje / snyan brgyud yid bzhin nor bu'i bka' bab pa zva phug pa rgyal dbang seng ge / shes bya rig gnas kyi bka' bab pa byams sprin gter dbon gu ru śākya bdud 'dul / mngon spyod drag po mthu'i bka' bab pa gu ru phug pa karma gu ru sde 'di bzhi la bka' bab kyi bu chen bzhir grags*). It should be mentioned that the last-named disciple was the father of the Eighth Zhva-dmar-pa Chos-kyi don-grub (1695-1732); see Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas & Tshe-dbang kun-khyab (as in fn. 1), p. 351.1. Further disciples of Karma Blo-bzang are listed in the contribution of Klaus-Dieter Mathes to the present volume.

[12] For the relationship between Ras-chung phug and Brag-dkar rta-so see Chos-kyi dbang-phyug: *'Khrul snang sgyu ma'i rol rtsed*, fol. 153b/5-6 (. . . *ras chung phug nas skyong srol* . . .); Brag-dkar bSam-gling is called a "son monastery" (*bu dgon*) of Brag-dkar rta-so by the same author; see *ibid.*, fol. 202b/3ff. An interesting view on the competition that existed between Karma Blo-bzang and dPag-bsam ye-shes (1598-1667), a member of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa school also active in the Nepal-Tibet borderlands, can be found in Mi-pham dGe-legs rnam-par rgyal-ba: *rGya mtsho'i snying po*, fol. 48a/4-b/4.

In using the term "spatial efficacy" (*Raumwirksamkeit*), I follow Hoheisel & Rinschede (1989: 9).

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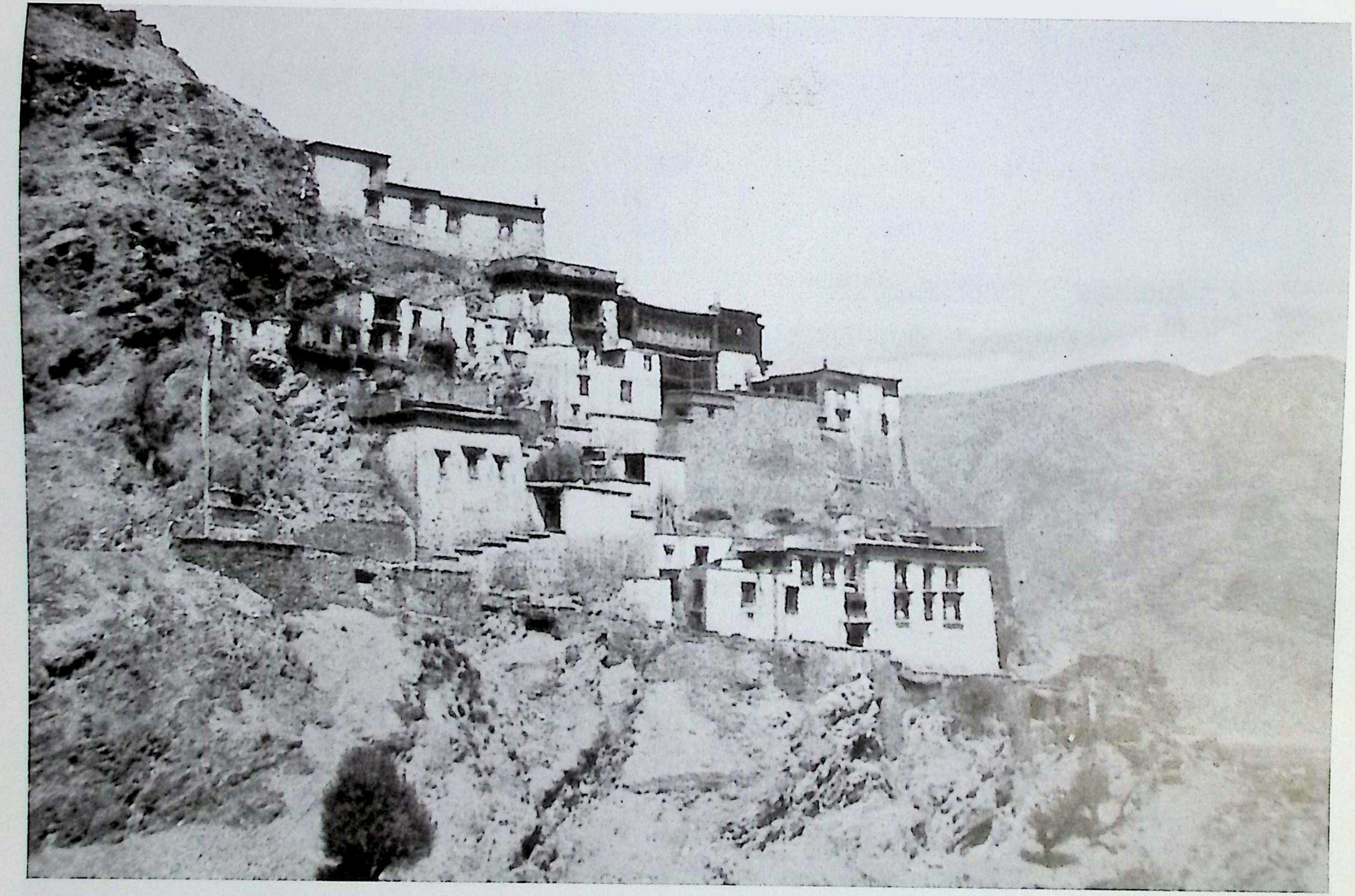


Plate 1 Ras-chung phug (taken from Hugh Richardson, *High Peaks, Pure Earth* [London: Serindia Publications, 1998], 319, picture 69)

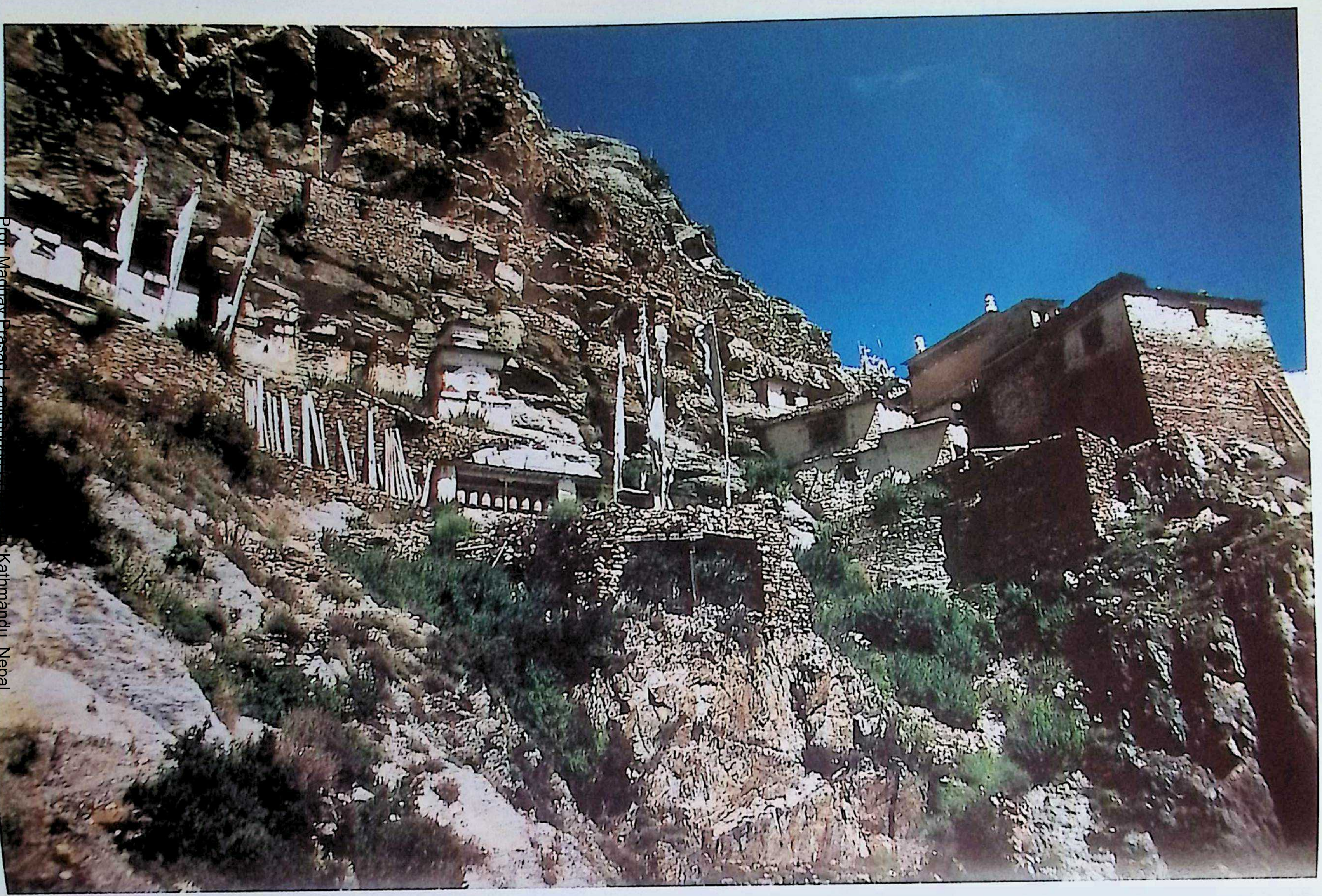


Plate 2 Brag-dkar rta-so (photo taken by Franz-Karl Ehrhard, September 1997)

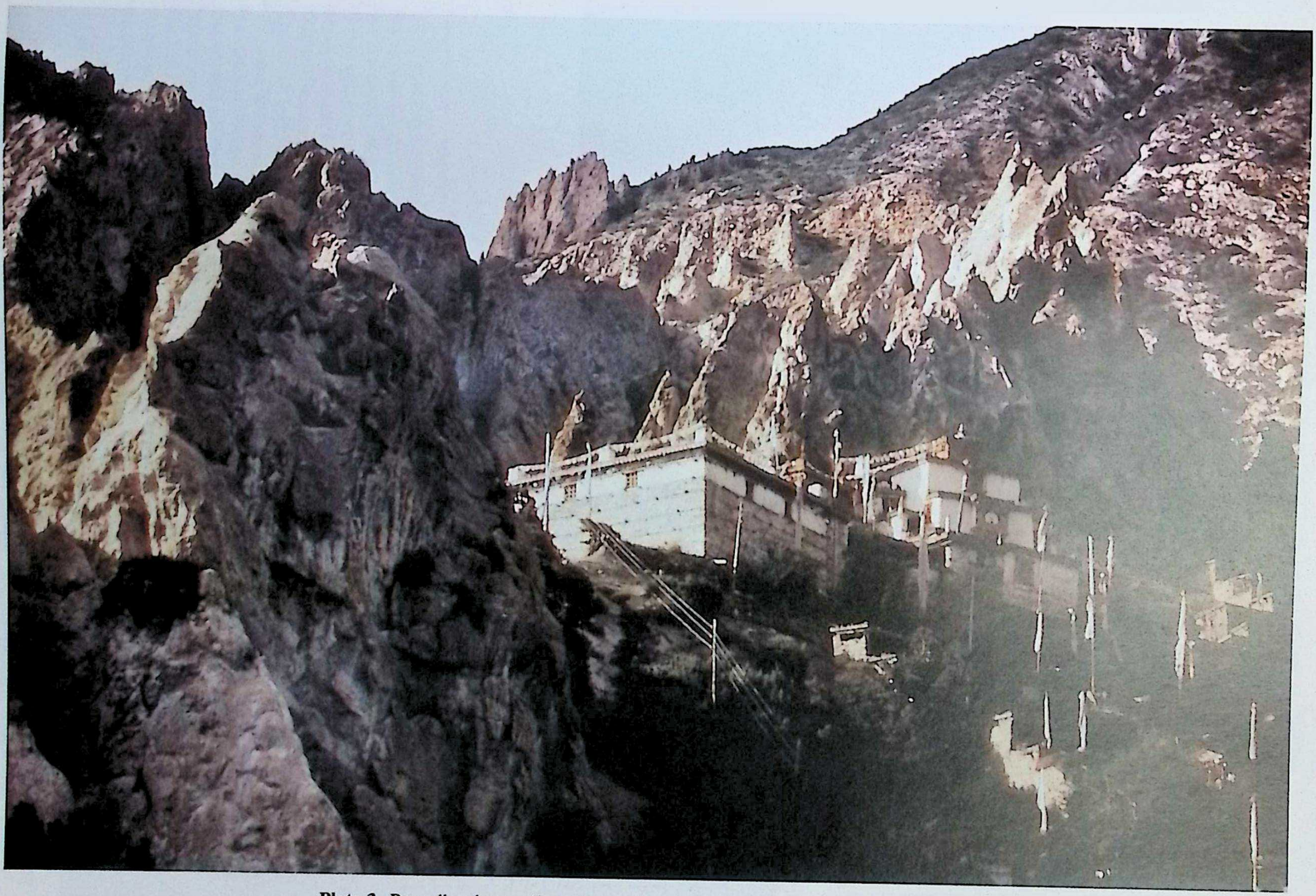
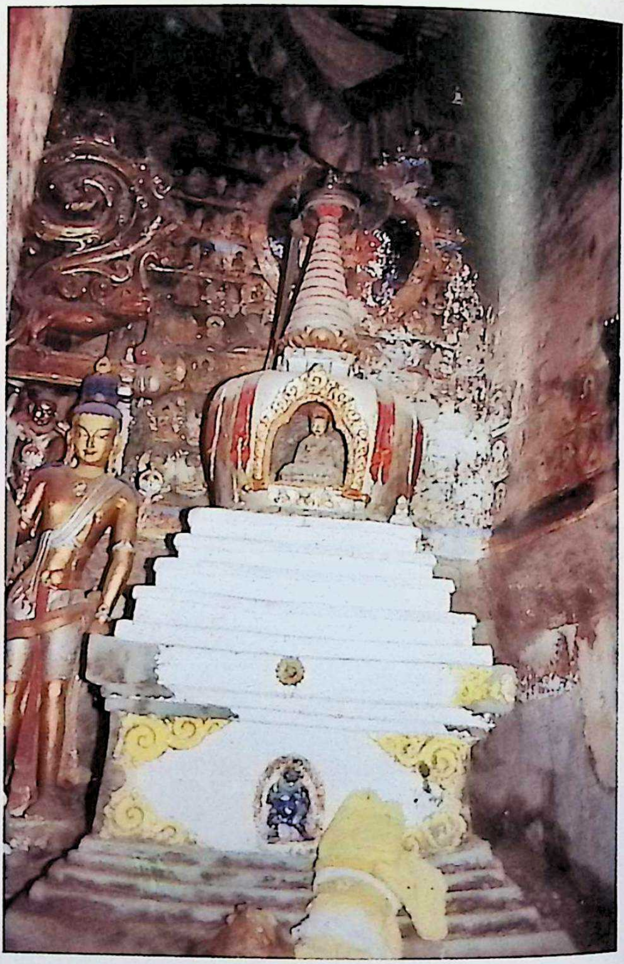
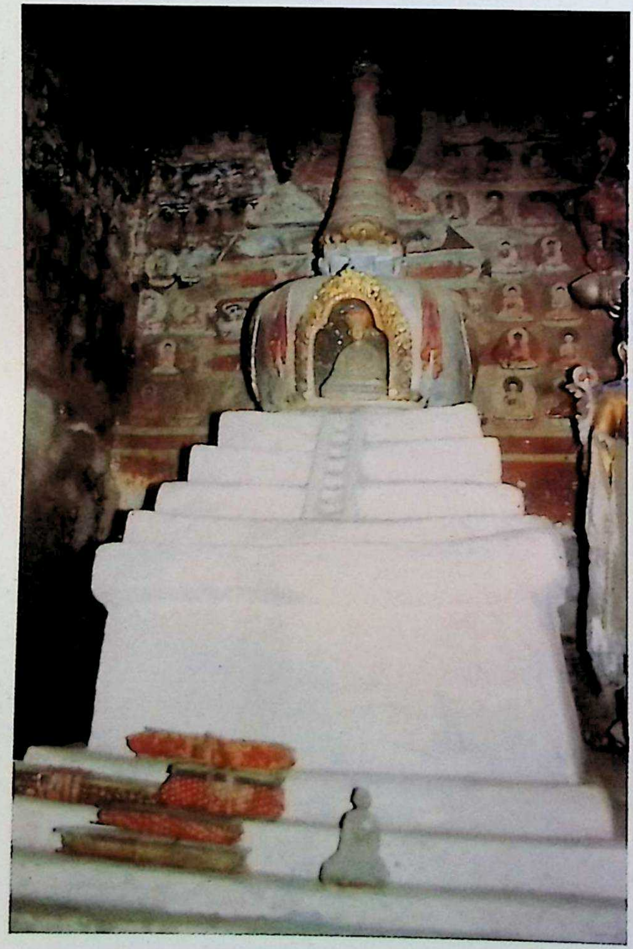


Plate 3 Brag-dkar bsam-gling (photo taken by Franz-Karl Ehrhard, August 1996)





Plates 4 and 5 Two stūpas erected at Brag-dkar bsam-gling by a disciple of Karma Blo-bzang (photos taken by Franz-Karl Ehrhard, August 1996)

A Sanskrit Letter Written by Sylvain Lévi in 1923 to Hemarāja Śarmā along with Some Hitherto Unknown Biographical Notes (Cultural Nationalism and Internationalism in the First Half of the 20th Century: Famous Indologists Write to the Raj Guru of Nepal—No. 1)

ENRICA GARZILLI

> La science, je le répète, est inséparable de la vie. Elle y contracte sa dignité, mais en subit aussi des obligations qu'un savant dans son cabinet ne doit jamais perdre de vue. Ce n'est point hasard ni caprice si *humanisme* rappelle *humanité*.
>
> Sylvain Lévi

Introduction

In this paper[1] I present a Sanskrit letter written by the famous "complete"[2] Indologist Sylvain Lévi to the Raj Guru of Nepal, His Holiness Hem Raj Sharma (or, as he signed his Sanskrit letters, Hemarāja Śarmā). This document is part of a recently discovered corpus of official and private correspondence between Hem Raj and some of the most famous Indologists of the 20th century. Here I will offer a facsimile of Lévi's letter in Devanāgarī, a transliteration into Roman script (not diplomatic), an English translation and some notes on the *realia* of the text. I will also give a few notes on some less known aspects of Lévi's personality, and will sketch Hem Raj's life and work, which are virtually unknown to Western scholarship.[3]

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[1] I would like to thank Prakash A. Raj, the eldest grandson of Hem Raj Sharma, for giving me this and other letters, and for the copyright on their use. I often resorted to him for information on his grandfather and on the modern social history of Nepal usually left out of history books. I owe to Dr. Mahes Raj Pant the translation from Nepali of the two-page diary written by Hem Raj. I would like to thank Prof. Michael Witzel (Harvard University), who generously helped me in studying the major part of the documents I have. I would like to thank Prof. Albrecht Wezler (University of Hamburg) for reading this paper, and both him and Dr. Klaus-Dieter Mathes (Nepal Research Centre) for inviting me to publish it.

Prof. Witzel was the former director and Prof. Wezler is the present director of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, which has filmed manuscripts owned by Hem Raj and Kaiser Shamsher, as well as a few letters (but not this one) between Hem Raj and other famous Indologists of his time. Therefore, I think, it is particularly appropriate to publish this first paper of the series "Cultural Nationalism and Internationalism in the First Half of the 20th Century: Famous Indologists Write to the Raj Guru of Nepal" in the present commemoration volume for thirty years of activity of the Nepal Research Centre, which has been instrumental in supporting and coordinating the precious work of the NGMPP.

I dedicate this and the other articles of the series to Hem Raj and his family, and to Michael Witzel for helping and encouraging me in my work.

[2] As Edwin Gerow in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119, 1 (1999): 182f., reporting Cardona's words, defines Louis Renou, one of Lévi's pupils, in a review on a Felicitation Volume in his honour.

The Corpus of Letters between Hem Raj and Famous Indologists of His Time

The letter I am presenting here was written on November 8, 1923 from Lévi's studio in his house in Paris V, 9 Rue Guy de la Brosse.[4] Chronologically it is the first that we still have between Hem Raj and other famous scholars, and the first of the five between him and Lévi. The French scholar wrote three letters, and the Nepalese scholar answered two of them. These two are the only letters we still have of Hem Raj who, as is clear from his other correspondence, faithfully answered the mail from other Orientalists.

The grandson of Hem Raj, Prakash A. Raj, sent me the major part of the letters in February 1998 and entrusted them to me for publication. The microfilm printout of a new letter and a few missing pages of two that I already had were given to me by Prof. Albrecht Wezler in his house near Hamburg, at the beginning of April 1998. A few letters or parts of them had been microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (Reel Nos. E 3017-E 3018). In 1977 Prakash had given not only those letters to the NGMPP, but also the Nepali account of South India by Hem Raj, who went there on a pilgrimage with the Queen Mother in V.S.1969.[5]

In January-February 1999 I went to Nepal to collect more documents on Hem Raj and his time. The eldest son of Hem Raj, Kesari Raj Pandey, who was deputy royal preceptor (Nayab Bada Guruju) at the time,[6] graciously opened up his house to me in Dhoka Tole, and was able to give me some more missing pages from an album of correspondence of his father.[7] He also let me take several photos of documents, old pictures, paintings, and mementos of his family, and he and his wife were so kind as to accept being interviewed by me about his father's private and official life. Thanks to him and to his family, and thanks to Dr. Dilli R. Regmi, Prof. Dinesh Raj Pant and others whom I will mention as the occasion arises, I now have a rather large collection of documents on Hem Raj and his epoch.

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[3] As I wrote in fn. 1, this paper is the first of the series titled "Cultural Nationalism etc." A second article, presenting a letter written in Sanskrit by the Italian Indologist Carlo Formichi to Hem Raj, will be published in a newly inaugurated journal named *Rivista Italiana di Linguistica e di dialettologia*, edited by Prof. Diego Poli (University of Macerata) and published by the Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali. A third article, dealing with a similar letter from Rahul Sankrityayan to Hem Raj, will be published in the *International Journal of Tantric Studies* (http://www.asiatica.org/publications/ijts/).

[4] A transliterated text of the letter has recently been published in Gyan Mani Nepal, *Paṃ hemarāja śarmā: unakā kṛti ra samīkṣā*, Saṃskṛta Viśvavidyālaya Series 53 (Beljhundi [Dang]: Mahendra Saṃskṛta Viśvavidyālaya, V.S. 2057), 143.

[5] V.S. stands for Vikrama Saṃvat. I will often use this dating system (frequently spelled Bikram in Nepal), which is 56 or 57 years ahead of the Christian era.

Regarding the depiction of South India by Hem Raj, I was unable to trace the microfilm catalogue card for it in the Nepal Research Centre, nor was Dr. Mahes Raj Pant, who had taken Hem Raj's paper from Prakash around 1977 and catalogued it.

[6] Just after my departure he was appointed Chief Royal Preceptor (Bada Guruju, or Rajguru) by King Birendra.

[7] Unfortunately, in the early 1970s an eyewitness reported to Michael Witzel (the director of the Nepal Research Centre at the time) having seen the family of Hem Raj set fire to an enormous pile of old family documents.

The corpus of letters I have includes 16 Sanskrit, nine English and one Nepali letter written by (with the Sanskrit signature of the authors, whenever possible) Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya, Carlo Formichi, Kesar Bahadur K.C., Sylvain Lévi, Srinivasa Murti, Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana, Hemarāja Śarmā, Baladeva Śarman, Vishnu S. Suktankar, Gangadhar Tailang, Frederick W. Thomas and Giuseppe Tucci.[8]

A facsimile, transliteration and English translation, together with a large critical and historical apparatus, will be published in a book currently under preparation.

The importance of these letters as modern Sanskrit documents, offering as they do new Sanskrit terminology and a new style, is obvious. These documents, and especially those written by Rahul Sankrityayan and Hem Raj, which are particularly long, are a testimonial to a real epistolary art, a literary genre very appreciated in Sanskrit literature.

While the European letters were mostly written to ask for manuscripts, information and help in obtaining authorization from the Rana government to enter Nepal, those written in Sanskrit by South Asians offer new information and evidence relating to the dates and authorship of Buddhist manuscripts. Therefore, they are of great significance in this field of study.

The letters will also be of interest to Indologists because of their prestigious senders, and to historians and biographers because of the personal news and the dates they contain. In a larger perspective, they will also be of interest to scholars of intellectual history since they contain information bearing on cultural nationalism and internationalism in the first half of the 20th century.

They will also be of help in writing about diplomatic ties as well, the main discourse being between European and South Asian scholars of the time.

In addition, documents of this kind may raise some questions for historians of religions: How could these scholars who participated in the beginning stages of the scientific study of the history of religions freely correspond when their letters were read by the various regimes in place at the time? The Italian, Nepalese and, to a lesser extent, Indian documents are essential for defining and better interpreting the relationship between colonial and authoritarian regimes and the incipient scientific study of the history of religions.

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[8] More details of the letters have been given in the "Brief Communication" in the *Indo-Iranian Journal* 43 (2000): 197f.

The Scholar Hem Raj Sharma (1878-1953)

If all Orientalists know of Sylvain Lévi, nowadays only a few scholars of Nepalese studies or those who take time to read the introductions to many of the Sanskrit editions of the first half of the 20th century know of Hem Raj Sharma.

Here I will offer a few first biographical notes on this scholar, since nothing systematic and complete, only a few comments mostly in Nepali magazines, has been written on him. A complete biography, and most of the written documents and oral accounts on him from Nepal that I collected on my trip of January-Febrary 1999 will be published in a book under preparation on the correspondence between him and Indologists of the 20th century.

Hem Raj not only occupied a high public position as the deputy royal preceptor of the royal family and of Nepal (Skt. *rāja-guru* or Nep. *rāj gurujū*), but he was also a scholar. He is credited with having initiated research work in Nepal in accordance with modern research methodology. His most important contributions are the edition and Sanskrit introduction on the *Kāśyapa Saṃhitā* (V.S. 1995) based on his discoveries of a new manuscript—in which he tried to prove how Āyurveda has influenced Western medicine[9]—a Sanskrit debate on the *Mahābhārata*[10] and, above all, the first Nepali grammar, titled *Candrikā: Gorkhābhāṣa-vyākaraṇa* (V.S. 1969).[11] The book, which was printed in Nepali by Hem Raj in his house in Dhoka Tole—called Bharati Bhavan, the "House of Learning"—in the heart of Kathmandu, first established grammatical rules for Nepali.[12]

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[9] Hara Prasad Shastri had discovered a much shorter manuscript in Kathmandu in 1898. A chapter of the *Kāśyapa Saṃhitā* based on Hem Raj's book has been translated by Dr. Dominik Wujastyk in his book titled *The Roots of Āyurveda: Selections from Sanskrit Medical Writings* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1998).

[10] In the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 16 (3-4), 1935: 212-231. A. D. Pusalker writes in *Studies in the Epics and Puranas* (Chaupatty, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1955), p. 111: "Rajaguru Hemaraja, the discoverer of the oldest Nepalese MS of the *Ādiparvan*, has contributed an interesting and instructive article in Sanskrit: 'Some Reflections on the Mahābhārata',[69] which discusses some important problems connected with the history of the epic. He shows that there is no separate work called *Jaya*, but it denotes *Bhārata* and *Mahābhārata*, which are respectively by Vyāsa and Vaiśampāyana, with 24,000 and 100,000 stanzas. He regards *aṣṭau ślokasahasrāṇi* as an interpolation." The footnote reference is to the article just mentioned. (My thanks to Prof. Albrecht Wezler for this information.)

[11] Around the same time Rammani Acharya Dikshit wrote a separate Nepali grammar titled *Gorkha Vyākaraṇa Bodha*, and between the two a rivalry soon arose. In the chapter "Hemarāja in My View" (pp. 51-57) of his book *Purāṇa Samjhanā*, Rammani Acharya said that his own grammar had no chance to become a standard grammar since Hem Raj was so close to the Ranas. Actually both families were close to the Ranas, and Rammani's family was very powerful, but Hem Raj had more prestige since he was the Raj Guru of both the Rana prime minister and the king.

[12] Cf. Mira Pradhan, *Candrikā vyākaraṇako bhāṣāvaijñānik adhyayan* (Kathmandu: Vidvacchiromaṇi Hemarāja Puraskār Guṭhī, 1999).

Hem Raj understood and spoke some Marathi, was fluent in Hindi, Nepali and Sanskrit (he was educated in Benares as a pundit), knew Bengali very well (the king's, the Ranas' and his third wife's teachers came from Bengal), but knew very little English.[13]

He was not only a pandit, but a bibliophile and a collector of manuscripts as well. As such, his fame went well beyond Nepal and India. Hem Raj in fact owned over 6,000 Sanskrit manuscripts and almost 25,000 books in Sanskrit, Pali, Bengali, Tibetan, Hindi, Chinese, Persian, Marathi, Gujarati, Ancient Greek and English. He printed and reprinted many rare books on his press on the ground floor of his house. His own book *Candrikā* was printed there.

After his death, his library was sold by his wife and their two sons to the government for Rs. 300,000.[14] The books in his collection are now kept in the Nepal Rashtriya Pustakalaya (National Library of Nepal).

To their many detractors the family claims that they had to sell Hem Raj's library for money, and to the government. At the time there was an article published in Kathmandu stating that a foreign scholar was interested in the whole library but they could not sell to him since it was a national treasure. Apparently, even though the remuneration of a Raj Guru was very high, Hem Raj was unable to manage his money: he spent too much on books and lost sums in gambling.[15]

Hem Raj was closely connected with the Ranas, which perhaps explains how he was able to collect such a large number of books and manuscripts. Had he been opposed to the oligarchy, he would never have been allowed to do this. His collection was not a public library—no public library would have been tolerated in Nepal at that time—but was kept in his home. It was in this private library, which occupied a long building connecting two wings of his house, that he may have met with foreign scholars from the 1930s on. We read from their letters that they asked him for copies of rare or lost manuscripts, for scholarly suggestions, and for his good offices with the prime minister in obtaining a permit to enter Nepal or to cross it to go to Tibet.

In the first quarter of the century, not only Nepal but also Hem Raj's house was closed to foreigners. Lévi wrote in 1925 that twice a week he had an academic meeting with Hem Raj at the Government Library, but he would have not been allowed to enter the Raj Guru's house since people would have been scandalized to see a *mleccha* ('barbarian') profane the residence of such a sacred person.[16]

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[13] Gokul Chand Shastri was the person who translated into and from English for Hem Raj.

[14] Kesari Raj Pandey, who told me the exact figures of the transaction, did not know the exact exchange rate of that time. However, he told me that he went to the USA in 1961, when one dollar was worth seven rupees. Therefore, the price of Hem Raj's library would have been some $40,000, which in present terms would be some $200,000.

[15] Gambling was allowed only during five days in Diwali. The Ranas themselves played in public these five days only, mainly together with Newar businessmen. Every year the *Gorkhāpatra* newspaper announced when people could gamble.

Rahul Sankrityayan, who was in correspondence with Hem Raj, wrote a Hindi article in the magazine *Ājkal* (1957) about the difficulties Hem Raj had to face while collecting manuscripts for his library.[17] In this article he called Hem Raj "the Encyclopedia of Nepal." Tucci in *Fra giungle e pagode* (Rome: 1953) wrote (in Italian) that General Kaiser Shamsher and Guruji Hem Raj Sharma opened the treasures of their manuscript collections to him.[18]

From his own library Hem Raj lent manuscripts to foreign scholars.[19] I have copies of three letters written by Vishnu Suktankar in which he thanks Hem Raj for his manuscripts. In the "Prolegomena" to the *Ādiparvan* (pp. xiii ff.) of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*,[20] Suktankar lists the manuscripts Ñ1, Ñ2 and Ñ3, and affirms that the last one appears to be the oldest (A.D. 1511) of the dated manuscripts belonging to the critical apparatus. Ñ1 and Ñ2 are from Nepal and in Nepali characters. Collations of those manuscripts "were kindly supplied by Rajguru Pandit Hemaraj, C.I.E., D.P.I., Nepal, who had it collated, for the Institute, by *local Pandits.*" All these manuscripts belonged to private owners. Ñ3, the oldest dated manuscript, came from Nepal and was in Nepali characters written in ink on palm leaf. This was "sent to the Institute for collation, through the kind offices of Rajguru Pandit Hem Raj (Nepal)."

In the introduction to the critical edition of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti*[21] (p. 1) Corrado Pensa writes (in Italian) that "the only manuscript on which his edition is based comes from Nepal, from the private collection of Gurujī Hem Raj Sharma (now incorporated into the National Archives) and was consulted in a photographic reproduction owned by Prof. G. Tucci."

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[16] S. Lévi, *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi: Deux traités de Vasubandhu: Viṃśatikā et Triṃśikā* (Paris: Librarie Ancienne Honoré, 1925), xiii.

[17] In Kathmandu there are two main manuscript libraries. The first is the National Archives, which incorporated the former Bir (or Durbar) Library, for which Hara Prasad Shastri wrote a catalogue that is now old and incomplete; it also houses manuscripts (including those of Hem Raj's private library) formerly kept in the Nepal Rashtriya Pustakalaya and the microfilms of manuscripts made under the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project. Secondly, there is the private library of Kaiser Shamsher, who was Lévi's friend, with approximately 1,000 manuscripts, some of them very old.

[18] Kaiser Shamsher gave 600 palm-leaf manuscripts to the Royal Library, which in 1976 were filmed by Michael Witzel for the NGMPP on films numbered C1 *et seqq.*

[19] We ask ourselves why he did so, and how the Ranas allowed it. Everybody whom I interviewed about Hem Raj answered that he wanted to be known abroad. As for the Ranas, they most probably let so many rare manuscripts and pieces of antique art leave the country because they did not understand their importance.

[20] Ed. by V. S. Suktankar (Poona: B.O.R.I., 1933-1959).

[21] Corrado Pensa, *L'Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛitti di Ārya-Vimuktisena: Primo Abhisamaya: Testo e note critiche* (Rome: IsMEO, 1967).

The text of the *Nepāla-Māhātmya* XXVII-XXX was established by Félix Lacôte on the basis of the manuscript brought from Nepal by Lévi[22] (obviously during his trip in 1898) who, in a letter to Hem Raj dated September 4, 1924, writes that the *Bṛhatkathā* by Guṇāḍhya[23] will be brought to light as well.

One of the most important manuscripts of the *Pramāṇavārttika* of Dharmakīrti belonged to Hem Raj (who lent it to Giuseppe Tucci, as is clear from a letter Tucci wrote to Hem Raj, and as Sankrityayan writes in his Hindi autobiography[24]).

Both the manuscripts of the *Viṃśatikā* and the *Triṃśikā* by Vasubandhu were given to Lévi by Hem Raj, to whom the book *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* is dedicated.[25] The French and Nepalese scholars talk about these two manuscripts in an exchange of letters.

This is Lévi's description of Hem Raj and his discovery of the *Viṃśatikā* and the *Triṃśikā* in the introduction to his book *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*:

> La Bibliothèque du Gouvernement est placée sous le contrôle d'un savant admirable qui exerce les hautes fonctions de Rāj-Guru "directeur spirituel du royaume," "Sa Sainteté" (comme on l'appelle) Hemrāj Śarman. Issu d'une famille originaire du Kangra, formé aux écoles de Bénarès, il possède une maîtrise éblouissante du sanscrit; versé par profession dans la théologie, familier avec toutes les finesses et les subtilités de la science grammaticale, il joint à l'érudition d'un pandit le sens aigu des réalités et des affaires publiques. J'aurai à tracer ailleurs le portrait de cette personnalité vigoureuse; mais ici je dois lui exprimer ma reconnaissance pour le

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[22] F. Lacôte, *Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Bṛhatkathā: Suivi du texte inédit des chapitres XXVII à XXX du Nepāla-Māhātmya* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1908), 291.

[23] Lévi analyzes this work in *Le Népal: Étude historique d'un royame Hindou* (Paris: 1905), I, 201-205.

[24] Sankrityayan writes in his autobiography, *Merī jīvan yātrā* (Ilāhābād: Kitāb Mahal, 1944), 138: ". . . I started translating his (= Dharmakīrti's) main book 'Pramāṇavārttikka' from Tibetan to Sanskrit. My friend Jayachandra Vidyalankara told me that Raj Guru had found some manuscripts [of it], and [so] I left the translation work. I returned via Nepal especially in order to see this book. When I asked him (= Raj Guru) about it he said that he had found a very old manuscript and that the Italian professor Tucci had taken it promising to return it, but he never did. Then he remembered that he had had a copy made by a photographer and so had a search made for it. Luckily the location of the photos was found and I had a copy made from them." (transl. Enrica Garzilli)

For his part, Tucci wrote (in Italian)—in "L'ultima mia spedizione sull'Imalaya," *Nuova Antologia: Rivista de lettere, scienze ed arti*, yr. 68, fasc. 1460 (January 16, 1933), 245-258—that he had found, among other manuscripts, the *Pramāṇavārttika* of Dharmakīrti: "Since I could not copy it due to lack of time, I convinced the Maharaja to lend me the precious manuscript in order to make a critical edition and a translation of it. . . . And with [this] new precious treasure I started back [home]. . . ." (p. 258 –transl. Enrica Garzilli)

Most probably this was the same manuscript used by Raniero Gnoli, Tucci's pupil, in his edition of the *Pramāṇavārttikam* (Rome: IsMEO, 1960). Gnoli writes (Preface, xi) that Tucci "generously lent me one of the most important manuscripts on which this edition is based." However, he does not mention whether it was the one Hem Raj had given to Tucci.

[25] Introduction, x and xvi.

> concours qu'il n'a jamais cessé de me prêter et qui ne s'est point ralenti depuis mon départ du Népal. C'est à lui que je dois la découverte de mes deux textes. (p. xii) [. . .] Le Rāj-Guru qui n'avait pas cessé depuis mon départ de poursuivre la recherche des anciens manuscrits et de me signaler les trouvailles de valeur, par une (p. xiii) lettre datée du 24 février 1924, m'annonçait entre autres la découverte suivante. . . . (p. xiv)[26]

Hem Raj's scholarship was extremely modern for the xenophobic Nepal of that time (as a Brahmin, he was not supposed to write books in Nepali but only in Sanskrit): he subscribed to the semiweekly *Gorkhāpatra*, the first Nepali newspaper, he helped foreign scholars even though he was expected not to meet or touch them,[27] he supported foreign scholarship and also collected foreign books. Even so, he was neglected by recent Nepalese governments until 1998 because of his official role under the Rana regime, which he never repudiated. Finally in 1988 the government issued a one-rupee stamp with his portrait, his official title as Vidvacchiromaṇi or 'Crest-jewel of Scholars', which was given to him in 1939,[28] at the bottom, and on the right side a panel reading "Nepali Grammarian / Eminent Scholar."

After the revolution that swept away the Ranas in 1951 until his death, in December 1953, Hem Raj remained loyal to the family for which he had been the royal preceptor. In the attempt to turn anyone who played a role in the old regime into a non-person, Hem Raj was removed from the national consciousness even as a scholar, even though, as the Nepali poet Motiram Bhatta (V.S. 1923-1953 = A.D. 1866-1896) wrote, his name means "Memory."[29] We can say that he personified the memory of the traditional court pandits.

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[26] [The Government Library is placed under the control of an admirable savant who performs the high functions of Rāj-Guru "spiritual director of the kingdom," "His Holiness" (as he is called) Hemāraj Śarman. Born to a family originally from Kangra, educated in the schools of Benares, he has a brilliant mastery of Sanskrit; versed by profession in theology, familiar with all the subtleties and details of the science of grammar, he combines his sharp awareness of the real world and public affairs with the erudition of a pandit. I will sketch in another place the portrait of this strong personality; but here I want to express my gratitude for the help which he has never ceased to provide me and which has never slackened since my departure from Nepal. I owe to him the discovery of my two texts. (p. xii)

[. . .] The Rāj-Guru, who after my departure did not cease to look for ancient manuscripts and to call attention to significant works, announced to me, among other things, the following discovery in a (p. xiii) letter dated February 24, 1924. . . . (p. xiv)]

[27] In this regard Kesari told me on January 24, 1999 that he did not believe that his father let foreigners in their home. Surely they could not visit the whole house, and perhaps not even the library. This agrees with what Lévi wrote in the introduction to the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, as in fn. 15). Kesari also told me that "people say that once Hem Raj shook the hand of a white person and after that immediately washed his own."

[28] See Naya Raj Pant, "Vidvacchiromaṇipadavīko lālamohara," *Pūrṇimā* 37 (yr. 10, no. 1): 21-25.

[29] Bhatta gave a *nirukta* kind of etymology: "His name is synonymous with Hekka (= 'memory' in Nepali), since the word *he* forms the first letter of Hemaraja. The letter *ma* in Hemaraja comes from *man* or 'mind'. The word *ram*, which contributes the *ra* in Hemaraja's name means 'Sitapati'. The word *ja* comes from *jana*." (Prakash A. Raj, *Vidvacchiromaṇi Hemarāja Śarmā (jīvanī)* [Kathmandu: 1978], 1.)

In order to shed light on his time as royal preceptor, it is perhaps useful to summarize some major events during the Ranas' uninterrupted control over Nepal for almost 105 years and the role he played in it.

The Last Years of the Ranas' Despotism and the Nayab Bada Guruju Hem Raj Sharma

Nepal became a nation-state after the conquest of the Kathmandu Valley in 1768 by the ruler of the small state of Gorkha, Prithvi Narayan Shah. He and his successors continued to expand their area of control, subjugating tribes and principalities. Starting with Prithvi's grandson, a succession of kings inherited the throne as minors, but once they came of age they proved unable to govern. The real power came into the hands of a minister supported by the army.

In 1846 Jang Bahadur Kunwar (1817-1877) became prime minister and proceeded to make this office hereditary. Until the revolution of 1951 members of his family ruled Nepal as maharajas, while the king, the *adhirāj*, had no effective power. Jang Bahadur adopted the name Rana to demonstrate his (false) claim of descent from the famous Rana rulers of Mewar (or Marwar) in Rajasthan. The family, in other words, in order to be able to intermarry with the Shahs, assumed the same princely status that Prithvi Narayan Shah traced his origins back to.

From their accession to power in 1885, Jang's nephews adopted as their surname Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana. The Ranas preserved Nepal's independence and were even able to regain a small part of the territory lost in the war of 1814-1816 with the British Crown, though an important clause of the 1816 treaty had established a British resident in Kathmandu.[30]

Chandra Shamsher was one of the more forceful Rana prime ministers, ruling from 1901 to 1929. He furthered contacts between Hem Raj and foreign scholars, allowing the latter to enter Nepal. Hem Raj was very close to him as Raj Guru and unofficial political advisor. We can see him in many official photographs at the Rana court.[31] In these photos the Ranas and some high officials like the royal preceptors were entitled to wear a special headdress called in Nepali *śrīpec* (the system of having these headdresses worn by royal preceptors was abolished in 1956 by King Mahendra [1920-1972]). The difference amòng headdresses showed the rank of the person wearing it. From 1846 to 1956, thanks to Bijay Raj (Hem Raj's grandfather), the Raj Guru's family had the right to wear this special covering.

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[30] It is interesting to note that in the Diplomatic-Historic Archives of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Nepal is mentioned as Great Britain's colony, but is not even indexed in Great Britain's folder until 1930. In the 1931-45 folder labelled "Great Britain," Nepal and Tibet are so indexed. After 1945 Nepal and also Afghanistan are indexed as separate countries.

[31] See the beautiful family and official photos from 1860 to ca. 1960 collected by Hem Raj in Prakash A. Raj, *Portraits and Photographs from Nepal* (Kathmandu: Hillside Press, 1994) and some official photos of the Ranas in Padma Prakash Shreshta, *Nepal Rediscovered: The Rana Court 1846-1951: Photographs from the Archives of the Nepal Kingdom Foundation* (London: Serindia Publications, 1986).

Nowadays only the king enjoys this right, but at that time the king, the Ranas, the royal preceptors, and certain members of the Kazi family were entitled to the privilege (in the case of the Kazi family the right was not hereditary). After 1930 Hem Raj wore a *śrīpec* with a *kalkī* ('bird of paradise feather') on it, an especially honorific plume.

Hem Raj was very close to Chandra Shamsher. The latter finished the "Entrance" examination from Calcutta University and when in 1908 he visited England did not need an interpreter. The Nepalese historian Dilli Raman Regmi told me that when Chandra was in England, he was asked about the status of communications in Nepal, and he replied: "In Nepal we are not building roads since this would allow foreigners to come and invade us." Even though he would later set up Trichandra College in Kathmandu, on meeting King George V in Delhi in 1911, he justified the almost complete absence of schools in Nepal—Durbar High School opposite Rani Pokhari was the first and only school—arguing that if the British had not been foolish enough to educate the Indians, they would not now be troubled by their nationalist opponents. (Padma Shamsher, the last prime minister of the Ranas, opened the country's first school for women in 1948-49, in Kathmandu.) He brought technical innovations and social reforms to the country, such as the construction of suspension bridges by British engineers on major trails in the hills, the provision of electricity in Kathmandu, the abolishment of slavery and the prohibition of bride-burning. In order to abolish slavery in 1924, he paid some 30,000 Nepalese rupees to the slaves' masters with gold and coins from the Pasupatinath temple, the famous Shiva temple in Kathmandu. According to Regmi, he abolished slavery in 1924 under pressure from the League of Nations; according to his son Kesari, it was under the influence of Hem Raj.

Chandra was very close to the British. In 1904, when Nepal was becoming alarmed that Czarist Russia was planning to extend its influence into Tibet, the viceroy, Lord Curzon, dispatched an expedition to press the Tibetans into accepting commercial and political relations with British India instead. Chandra gave full backing to this policy, and the Nepalese representative in Lhasa was very important to the British both as a source of information and as a mediator between them and the Chinese authorities. One of the results of this expedition was the opening of a new trade route between India and Tibet via Sikkim. In a few years the new one replaced the old trade route through Kathmandu, with big commercial losses for Nepal. Chandra helped this process since he was convinced that if the Russians ever became established in Tibet, the British would feel compelled to assume direct control along the line of the Himalayas, destroying Nepal's independence.

In World War I Chandra assisted a massive recruitment into the Gurkha regiments of the Indian army, and committed much of Nepal's own army to the allied cause. He was granted an annual subsidy from the British government and, also partly as a reward, in 1923 a treaty was concluded between Britain and Nepal recognizing the latter's complete independence (even though the Nepalese themselves do not consider that the country was subject before to even vague British sovereignty).

Thus the Chandra government was a mildly enlightened despotism. The prime minister was forced to abolish slavery and *satī*, which latter was, be it said, hardly any longer practised in Nepal, even though the first epigraphic evidence for a (missed) *sahagamana*, dated Śaka

386 = A.D. 464, is found in Nepal.[32] Chandra's predecessor, Dev Shamsher (1862-1914) had proposed establishing a large number of schools and giving people a forum to express their complaints. He had also founded Nepal's first newspaper, the *Gorkhāpatra*, which at that time was issued twice a week and became the official government newspaper. Dev had had to abdicate after only four months of government.

Despite these reforms, under the Ranas land was mismanaged, literacy was discouraged, slavery existed into this century, and the country was deprived of modern infrastructure such as motorable roads and railways, with the exception of the train running through Birganj and Amlekhganj. After the end of World War II engineers of the British Indian Army built the first airport, Gauchar Military Airport (now Tribhuvan International Airport). It only provided a link to India, and was not used for commercial or travelling purposes. The country had no telephones and no direct post, all mail being sent to the Indian embassy and sorted out there.[33] Nepal was closed to internal communications, and above all was closed to foreigners who were not allowed to enter the country.

The Ranas enforced caste discrimination right up to the end of their regime. Jang Bahadur introduced the *Muluki Ain* ('Legal Code'), which explicitly stated that punishment should be determined both on the basis of the nature of the offence, and of the caste of the offender. This principle was observed in the Prajā Pariṣād affair of 1940, when only the non-Brahmins among the leaders were condemned to death.

One of Chandra's sons, Sinha Shamsher, in a report on industrial development, acknowledged that the regime's interest was to promote people's rising living standards but added that "we cannot possibly take steps which in any way may be subversive of our autocratic authority." The result was that only the Ranas themselves and a small elite enjoyed the fruits of cultural and technological exchange: they were educated in England and drove cars, Gahendra Shamsher tried out new types of guns in his private laboratory, there was a cinema screen in the royal palace, etc. Despite the great changes in South Asia after World War I, in Nepal there was still not any rise in the living standard of the people, nor had there been for over one hundred years. As B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya wrote in 1949 from New Delhi in his foreword to the book of D. R. Regmi, *A Century of Family Autocracy in Nepal*

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[32] The wife of the Licchavi king Dharmadeva, Rājyavatī, wanted to perform *sahagamana* out of love for her deceased husband but was prevented from doing so by her son; therefore she took the vow of *satī*, namely celibacy. See E. Garzilli, "First Greek and Latin Documents on *Sahagamana* and Some Connected Problems," part 1, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 40, 3 (July 1997): 205-243, esp. fns. 3 and 5; part 2, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 40, 4 (November 1997), 339-365, esp. fn. 56. Cf. J. Acharya, "Sati Was Not Enforced in Ancient Nepal," in *Journal of South Asia Women's Studies: 1995-1997*, edited by E. Garzilli (Milan: Asiatica Association, 1997), 67-72.

[33] As for telegrams, there was an agreement between the Ranas and India to send them to the embassy and then to India. This explains, according to Kesari Raj Pandey, why the family received a fake telegram announcing Hem Raj's death a few days before it happened. And when a telegram dated the 24th of December was sent by Hem Raj the day before his death to Kesari Raj with the plea "My condition is not better, come with Prakash," it was received on the 27th of December, two days after his death.

(Being the Account of the Condition and History of Nepal during the Last Hundred Years of Rana Autocracy):[34]

> Nepal is a police State where Law and Order are maintained by arbitrary rule and barbarous physical torture is extant as a form of punishment, where civil liberties are unknown, popular and public life is an anathema, education is at a low ebb and punchayet organization functions under sufferance. Nay, human intercourse between Nepal and the outside world is virtually cut off sofar as ingress is concerned . . . such an isolated and antediluvian land. . . . (pp. vi-vii)

Regmi's first chapter of the same book, "Introductory Observation: Terra Incognita," starts: "Nepal has remained so long a hidden land relegated to a situation of darkness and obscurity and in a slough of despond and medieval slumber. . . ." (p. 1).

This is the setting where Hem Raj was born in Kathmandu, in July 1878. He descended from a family of royal preceptors and assumed this role himself, becoming the Nayab Bada Guruju of Nepal, since the Raj Guru was his elder brother, Heramba Raj. Though the latter was deaf, he had become the Dharmādhikar because the title was still hereditary. In 1846, at the time of his ancestor Bijaya Raj Pandit (1805-1878), the family was awarded the post, even though Gaurishwar, a member of the family, had already been the royal preceptor to King Narabhupal Shah of Gorkha in the first half of the 18th century. The post of Raj Guru is now no longer hereditary, but is open to all Brahmins who have studied Sanskrit, although a ruling in 1966 exempted Khagendra Raj, Hem Raj's nephew, from this. It was only in 1972 that someone outside the family was appointed Raj Guru. Bishwa Raj Pandit (1883-1960), the youngest son of Lok Raj and known as Kanchha Guruju ('Youngest Raj Guru'), was the chief royal preceptor from 1956 to 1960, after his eldest brother Heramba Raj died. Khagendra Raj Pandit, the eldest son of Heramba Raj Pandit, was the Bada Guruju from 1964 to 1977, and then between 1977 and 1998 there were two Bada Gurujus who did not belong to Hem Raj's family. In 1998 the eldest son of Hem Raj, Kesari Raj Pandey (b. 1926) who had been the Deputy Raj Guru, was appointed Bada Guruju.

Hem Raj was the de facto royal preceptor of the royal family, the Ranas and, in a way, of Nepal as a whole, and for this reason was called His Holiness.[35] This means that for almost half a century his opinion was asked whenever any religious ritual had to be observed by the Nepalese state and by the families of the king and of the Ranas.

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[34] Published by the Nepali National Congress, Nepal, 1st ed. 1950, 2nd ed. 1958.

[35] Cf. Surendranath Sen and Mahamohapadhyaya Umesha Mishra, *Sanskrit Documents: Being Sanskrit Letters and Other Documents Preserved in the Oriental Collection at the National Archives of India* (Allahabad: published on the behalf of the National Archives of India by the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, 1951), 48 (document 20) and 116, letter to the Raj Guru of Nepal by the Indian king of Udyapattana, Śardāra Siṃha Deva: the Raj Guru is always addressed with *śrīmat* and *śrī*, which are translated as "Your Holiness."

The post of Bada Guruju was hereditary in Hem Raj's family for 97 years. This position had two broad areas of responsibility, one specifically religious and the other more political and administrative. Hem Raj's role covered multiple functions:

1) A legislative function: The Council amended and issued laws, and as a member of the prime minister's court the Bada Guruju had strong power on it. Hem Raj also worked as a special counsellor for the Maharaja as far as legal matters were concerned.
2) A *jyotiṣī* ('astrologer') function: After the official Nepalese calendar became solar in V.S. 1961 (= A.D. 1904) he chaired the *pañcāṅga* ('almanac') committee when it met to assign the dates of festivals, on which particular rites could be performed. Traditionally, the astronomical calculations needed to make a *pañcaṅga* were done according to astronomical texts, and therefore there could be big differences among them. On February 22, V.S. 1961 (ca. 1904) Chandra Shamsher issued a decree that nobody would be allowed to print a *pañcaṅga* without Hem Raj's approval.[36]
3) Some administrative and executive functions: e.g., as the main authority on *dharmaśāstra* in the country, he had to decide fees and punishments.
4) He was the director of the whole Sanskrit- and Nepali-based education and, as such, he nominated teachers and decided their salary. In 1947 Hem Raj settled the question with the student movement called Jayatu Saṃskritam ('Let Sanskrit Triumph!'). Its backers were Brahmins who had special privileges—free room and board and pocket money—given by the government in order for them to be able to study Sanskrit. They wanted to enlarge their subjects to history and geography, and a compromise was eventually reached.[37]
5) He organized Brahmins to perform rituals in festivals, and he himself performed special rituals and two *koṭīhoma*s ('ten million burnt offerings') as the main priest. He had the right to give "entrance tickets" to pandits for taking part in different ceremonies and rituals.
6) In V.S. 1969 Chandra Shamsher gave him the authority to appoint who would be sent to special occasions such as funeral ceremonies and weddings. His official designation was Dānadakṣa. The document says that if Hem Raj recommended giving *dāna* ('honorarium') to Brahmins who were not eligible, he would be the one responsible.
7) He was in charge of advising both the Rana and the royal families on the proper rites to be performed on various occasions.

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[36] See Naya Raj Pant, "Upodghāta," in *Itihāsa-saṃśodhanako pramāna-prameya*, edited by D. Vajrācārya et al. (Lalipur: Jagadambā prakāśana, V.S. 2019), 112f.

[37] Prakash explained to me that many of those former students are now political leaders of the Congress Party, and claim that they wanted democracy (Sanskrit education open to all, etc.). According to him, this was not true: they only wanted more facilities and the chance to study geography and history; now they are only trying to glorify their party and themselves. I have not delved into what really happened during those years, in part because it is extremely difficult to write the history of such recent times, to know "the Truth." But the sudden virginity of politicians is a well-known phenomenon all over the world. In Italy, after the fall of Fascism, many well-known Fascist activists became partisans overnight. The movement Jayatu Saṃskritam was in fact instigated by Padma Shamsher to undermine Mohan, who would succeed him shortly afterwards. See Rishikesh Shaha, *Modern Nepal: A Political History 1769-1955* (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1990), vol. 2, 180f., and Naya Raj Pant, "Navagrahastotra," *Pūrṇimā* 28 (yr. 7, no. 4): 252-259. (I thank Dr. Mahes Raj Pant for these bibliographical references.)

8) He was involved in sending men and supplies to the British, and so had access to all relevant documents. He received the medal Nepāl Tārā, which only persons who worked in the army were given.
9) He also was the *dīkṣā-guru* ('preceptor who performs the Tantric initiation') of King Tribhuvan (who died in 1955) and of the last Rana prime minister Mohan Shamsher (son of Chandra); he initiated both. In the case of Padma Shamsher (son of Bhim, who died in 1932), the prime minister before Mohan, he was only his *gāyatrī-guru* ('preceptor who performs the initiation into the *gāyatrī* mantra').

Hem Raj was very active in carrying out all the above functions, and was also very efficient on other special occasions. In 1906 he supervised the arrangements for the Karsa Camp of Chitwan for the hunting party of the Prince of Wales, who later became George V.[38] He played a part in establishing the first fire brigade in Nepal, which he named after Juddha Shamsher, at the time of the great earthquake of January 15, 1934. For all these reasons, and not only because of his official role, he was a very influential figure in Nepal in the first half of the century. During Hem Raj's studies in Benares in the last year of the 19th century, Shiromani Acharya performed an *agnicayana* ritual at the request of the Rana prime minister Bir, and Hem Raj was asked to supervise it. From then onwards, the latter was always close to Bir's brother Chandra, who gave him a purse of Rs. 10,000 per year in appreciation of his abilities.[39] This allowance continued throughout his life, for over forty years, and even though the buying power of this sum was less at the end, he remained a wealthy man.

Hem Raj was the first person in modern Nepal to be awarded the title of Vidvacchiromaṇi, or 'Crest-jewel of Scholars'.[40] This title was given to him for outstanding work in Bidya (namely, *vidyā* 'scholarship') and Dharma.

Many people criticized Hem Raj for being close to the regime, confusing the scholar with the public person. For instance, Jaya Raj Acharya in 1979 wrote that even if Hem Raj had any wisdom, it was for serving the Ranas.[41] Another scholar, Dr. Ishwar Baral, a former vice-chancellor of the Royal Nepal Academy, asked Hem Raj, whom he had first met in 1952-53, about his political choices. At one point he criticized him and Hem Raj replied,[42] "Just judge me according to my time, according to the values and the difficulties that were prevalent at that time!"

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[38] We can see the photo of the camp, with George V, Hem Raj, Kaiser Shamsher and Juddha Shamsher present, in Prakash A. Raj, *Portraits* (as in fn. 31), 41.

[39] Kesari told me that all that he himself earned at UNESCO in Paris from 1966 to 1987 had the same buying power as what Hem Raj received annually some sixty years before.

[40] The Sanskrit scholar Kul Chandra Gautam would be awarded this title eighteen years later. In 1953 Babu Ram Acharya was dubbed Itihāsa-śiromaṇi ('Crest-jewel of Historians'), and Lekhnath Paudel Kavi-śiromaṇi ('Crest-jewel of Poets').

[41] Acharya's review of Prakash A. Raj's book *A Nepalese Discovers His Country* (Kathmandu: Sajha Prakashan, 1979) appears in *Vasudhā* (1979).

[42] Personal information supplied by Prakash A. Raj.

The political upheaval in 1951 brought major changes in the position of the Gurujus. Before the revolution Hem Raj could not go overseas, since otherwise he would have been *samudrapar*, that is, he would have lost his caste (in 1906 Chandra Shamsher had asked Hem Raj to accompany him to England and he had refused). By contrast, the present Bada Guruju, Hem Raj's eldest son Kesari Raj Pandey, has worked in Paris for UNESCO for 21 years.[43] However, the Raj Guru no longer plays the political, legislative and administrative role he did during Hem Raj's time.

The appointment of Kesari represented the official rehabilitation of Hem Raj, who has been one of the most important scholars Nepal has produced, and among the most remarkable ones in Asia. It was in recognition of this that the stamp with Hem Raj's portrait was issued in 1998.

Hem Raj Tells of Himself

As a part of the official rehabilitation of Hem Raj, Gyan Mani Nepal, a historian, Sanskrit scholar and member of the prestigious Royal Nepal Academy, has recently published the diary kept by Hem Raj between 1906 and 1953.[44] In some of the pages, Hem Raj has described his meetings with foreign scholars. Gyan Mani has also prepared a translation of Hem Raj's work on the *Mahābhārata* from Sanskrit into Nepali (mentioned by Lévi in one of his letters) which will be brought out by the Royal Nepal Academy.

The following is a two-page biography written by Hem Raj in his diary on the 1st of January 1909. The diary is a small black notebook, which is generally written in Nepali with some Sanskrit lines, when Hem Raj did not want to be understood by everybody. Hem Raj died on December 25, 1953.

> I was born on the *rathadvitīyā*[45] of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha in the Vikram year 1935 [= July 1878]. As I was sometimes sick in my childhood, my body was weak. My father, Raj Guru Lok Raj said, "This [son of mine] is ill. Following the performance of *vratabandha*,[46] illness is said to go away, and on the authority of sacred scripture

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[43] Despite his warm hospitality and collaboration, before he was appointed Raj Guru Kesari did not want to have dinner in public with his family and me since eating with a (non-Hindu) foreigner would have been not well regarded.

[44] This is the work referred to above (fn. 4). In the printing of the diary, several mistakes in Sanskrit letters have crept in; these will be pointed out in the book of mine currently in prepration.

[45] The day when the chariot procession of Jagannātha in Puri takes place.

[46] The investiture of the sacred thread, *upanayana* or *vratabandha*, usually occurs among Brahmins at the age of seven. I will give the Sanskrit words and titles as they are written in the diary.

which says, 'One who desires knowledge [should undergo the *upanayana* initiation] at [the age of] five',[47] I will perform his *vratabandha* at the age of five." He performed my *upanayana* and gave me the *mantra*.[48]

The Raj Guru, [my cousin] Bhima Raj, died when I was six years old, I received a salary of Rs. 1,000 in consequence.[49] From the year [19]42 I started going to the house of Sri3 Bir[50] for *cākarī*.[51]

After the division of property[52] in our family in [19]44[53] I went to Benares with my father, and to Calcutta with Sri3. My father became ill[54] on the 8th of the waxing moon of Bhādra in the year [19]47 [= August 1891] and died on the day of the full moon of the same month.[55] On my reappointment day that same year I was granted a salary of Rs. 2,000. In the month of Mārga in the year [19]51 [= November-December 1894] I went to Bombay with my elder brother and returned in Phālguna, meeting Sri3 in Sugauli[56] and coming to Nepal together with the *savārī*.[57]

Although I studied grammar here up to [the level of] the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*, I was not satisfied with my knowledge; I wanted to go to Benares, and also Sri3 Bir put forward the idea that I should be sent [there], so I went to Benares in the month of Mārga in the year [19]55 [= November-December 1898] and, staying in [our] house in Bulanala, started studying under Mahamahopadhyaya Ganga Dhar Shastri. First of all I studied the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* and [then] studied the *Manoramāśabdaratna* up to the level of the sūtra "*yuṣmat*," and the *Śabdenduśekhara* up to the level of the sutra "*arthavat*." [I also studied] the *Vyutpāttivāda* up to the *dvitīyā kāraka*, Nyāyaśāstra up to the level of *pakṣatā* in the *Adhikaraṇamāla*, the *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*, the *Kuvalayānanda*, the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, and the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya. [1st page]

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[47] In Sanskrit.

[48] Hem Raj received his Tantric initiation from his elder brother, who was the preceptor of the father of King Tribhuvan, King Prithvi Bir (1875-1911).

[49] It was an inheritance since Hem Raj belonged to the Raj Guru's family and was entitled to an allowance from the government. Hem Raj told Prakash Raj that his own father, Lok Raj (1852-1891), was very disciplined and did not allow him to spend that money.

[50] Sri3 (= Śrītīn) Bir was the 'Thrice Venerable' Bir Shamsher Rana (1852-1901), the eldest brother of Chandra. In 1885 he had had his uncle killed so as to become prime minister himself.

[51] Doing *cākarī* meant going every day to Bir's house in order to remain in his good graces.

[52] The division of property occurred between Hem Raj's father Lok Raj, who represented his grandfather Nagendra Raj (1852-1891), and the brother of his grandfather, Dvij Raj (who had also been Raj Guru), the younger son of Bijaya Raj, under whom the position of Raj Guru became hereditary. The family property consisted in land and the family house. They also had two houses in Benares both for religious reasons—to study and die there, as every devoted Brahmin should do—and for political reasons, since they were uncertain about the situation in Nepal (in Benares they also had safes full of money). Hem Raj died in his Benares house.

[53] I.e., A.D. 1887, the year they received the house in Dhoka Tole as a token of Bir Shamsher's affection for Hem Raj's father. They used to live in a smaller house in what is now New Road; part of the house still exists.

[54] He had a bad form of diabetes.

[55] He was 38 years old, while Hem Raj was 12.

[56] A town on the Indian border.

[57] A royal outing of the king and his retinue.

Of the other *kāvyas* ('poems') and *nāṭakas* ('dramas'), some I studied in Benares and some in Nepal. And [these] books are useful.

As the *agniṣṭoma*, *atyagniṣṭoma*, *sautrāmaṇi* and *cayana* [rites] were practised in the *yajña* ('sacrifice') performed by Shiromani Pandit,[58] I thought that I should be able to carry out, with the aid of books, the *hautra*, *udgotra*, *ādvaryava* and other [priestly offices]. I studied under Gaurinath Diksit and Prakashavadhani Vamanacharya and others. And I also saw with my own eyes *yajñas* being performed, and *kuṇḍas* ('sacrificial pit') as well.

Then Sri3 arrived in Bagari. As he had arranged a music and dance festival [there] in the year [19]56 [= A.D. 1900], I went to Bagari to see it, and also to meet Sri3. I remained there 16 or 17 days and then went back to Benares. In the month of Vaiśākha in the year [19]57 [= April-May 1901] I went with Sri5 Kanchhi Maiya Saheb[59] to Nainital[60] to get away from the heat.[61] I remained there for one month and then came back. There being sporadic outbreaks of cholera and the plague, I went to Nepal by the end of Āṣāḍha. Again, in the month of Mārga of the same year I asked for leave from the Maharaja and stayed [in Benares] for three months, and [only] reached Nepal on the 12th lunar day of Phālguna[62] [= February-March]. I left Birganj on the 8th of the waning moon of Mārga, and the next day, 14 December 1901, reached Benares. Three days after I arrived, on Tuesday, the 15th of Phālguna, Sri3 Bir died. Sri3 Dev Shamsher became [Maha]raja.[63]

Chandra Shamsher became Sri3 Maharaja in the year [19]58.[64] I went to Benares and Calcutta in Pauṣa of [19]58 [= January 1902] in order to work on the case against Kalidas. In the month of Pauṣa of the year [19]59 I accompanied the *savārī* from

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[58] The *yajña* referred to was the one to provide absolution to Bir Shamsher for having murdered his uncle Ranoddhip. Cf. above, fn. 50.

[59] The youngest royal princess.

[60] Nainital is in Kumaon, now in Uttaranchal State of the Indian Himalayas.

[61] She was in exile in Benares, having played a big role in assassinating the prime minister's uncle Ranoddhip Singh and his brother. She had also conspired against the new prime minister Bir.

[62] Note the omission of the fortnight.

[63] Dev Shamsher (1862-1914) was prime minister for four months only, but he initiated many reforms: he established public schools, founded the newspaper *Gorkhapatra*, and wanted to abolish slavery. Many Ranas opposed this movement. There was a *coup-d'état* and he was expelled. His much less enlightened brother Chandra became prime minister.

[64] The text makes no mention of other chronological particulars.

Nepal. When [Sri3] deputed me to do advance work in Benares, I went there seven or eight days beforehand and finished all the preparations. Sri3 came to Benares and stayed there for two days. I went together with the *savārī* to Delhi, and when the *savārī* returned I came back along with it. The *savārī* reached up to Thori in the Terai and [then] came back to Nepal.[65] In the month of Vaiśākha of the year [19]60 [= April 1904] I officiated at a *koṭīhoma*. I was the *ācārya* of the *koṭihoma*. The Mahārāja [Chandra Shamsher] was very happy over it and fixed the rate of my *dakṣiṇā*[66] as a numbered [pandit] at 10 Rs. I also received a shawl for my good service.

For the upcoming marriage between [Chandra's son] Kaiser Shamsher and the eldest daughter of Sri5 Prithvi Bikram Shah I collected certifications and other [necessary items] from the sacred scriptures and arranged the marriage for . . .,[67] whereupon Rs. 1,100 were added to my salary for my good service; I also received a shawl.[68] In the same year I went to the three *dhāms*[69] with my mother and others.[70] My eldest wife gave the mantra to the second Sri5 Bada Maharani[71] during the Durgāpūjā of the same year. Sri3 Bada Maharani was very kind to me, but to my misfortune she died in the month of Māgha of the year [19]61 [= January 1905]. In the year [19]61 when Sri3 Bada Maharani gave a *suvarṇatolā*,[72] I was the *ācārya*. I went to Barewa and Benares in the month of Caitra of the same year on business relating to the king of Ramnagar and for other *ḍolā*s.[73] A new *ḍolā* was brought, and Sri3 Maharaja afterwards married in the year [19]62 [= A.D. 1905]. As in the year [19]62 the Prince of Wales[74] was scheduled to come, Sri3 made arrangements for hunting in Chitwan and went to Thori. But cholera spread out from Simaravasa, and reports of it arose. Because the cholera could not be halted, the Prince did not come, and the *savārī* came back. From this year onwards I was made to work in the Bhārdārī.[75] On the great eighth day [of Dasain] in the year [19]62 [= A.D. 1905] my eldest wife gave the mantra to Sri3 Bada Maharani.[76]

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[65] I.e.; Kathmandu.

[66] Normally at that time the *dakṣiṇā* ('compensation for ritual services') was Rs. 3-5, and no more than Rs. 6. There were various degrees of *dakṣinā* fixed by the government for the pandits according to their ranking ("number").

[67] The date is not given, the omission being indicated by ellipsis.

[68] The king and the Ranas did not intermarry before 1846 (when the Ranas took over power) because the Shahs were Thakuris, high-caste Chhetris, while the Ranas were Chhetris of lower caste. When Jang Bahadur, one of whose brothers was the first Nepalese Maharaja to go to India, took power he gave his daughter to the king, and his son was married to the king's daughter. In Nepal marriage between cousins is forbidden except among certain castes, such as Thakuris or Magars (the latter live in western Nepal and boasted the largest group of men to serve the British). The marriage should have not taken place between Kaiser Shamsher (the third of Chandra's sons) and the daughter of the king since they were already related paternally.

[69] For Nepalese Hindus there are four main sacred locations in India: Puri (= Jagannath) in the east, Rameshwara in the south, Dwaraka in the west, and Badrinath in the north.

[70] Lok Raj had only one wife but several concubines (concubines enjoyed a slightly lower status than official wives: e.g., Brahmins should not touch their feet. Nagendra Raj had three wives. He married two of them at the same time, and when they died he remarried. King Prithivi had four legal wives with the title of queen, and many concubines.

[71] The wife of Chandra Shamsher. The wife of a royal preceptor gave *dīkṣā-mantra* to queens. The elder of Hem Raj's first two wives initiated the second queen (among four), and the latter gave birth to the son who later became King Tribhuvan. Hem Raj's social and political position was correspondingly strengthened by this fact.

[72] This was a gift to Brahmins consisting of their same weight in gold. It seems that Hem Raj received his from the wife of Chandra Shamsher herself.

The marriage of the second royal princess.

The birth of the royal prince.

Again the performance of a *koṭīhoma* relating to the mantra of Śaṇaiścara [= Saturn] in the month of Jyeṣṭha of [19]63 [= April-May 1906].[77] During the same [*homa* Sri3] said, "What [good thing] shall I describe about you?"[78]

August 6, 1907: Today the Lord bestowed much grace [on me]. [Skt.] Śrāvaṇa 22.

September 12, 1907, Bhādra 27: Today during the night my highest[79] lord fixed Rs. 3,000 as my annual [salary] [Skt.]

In the year [19]63 Commander-in-Chief Kitchner came to Nepal. In Māgha of the same [year 19]63 [= January-February 1907] Sri3 went to Calcutta. Sri5 Bada Maharani went to Rameshwar.[80] General Dambar Shamsher Jang and I, among others, went together with her. [2nd page]

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[73] The custom of *ḍolā* involved calling for beautiful girls from families—never Brahmins but only Chhetris (especially Thakuris)—outside Kathmandu when Ranas and kings wanted to marry.

[74] He later became George V.

[75] College of Nobles.

[76] She therefore gave the mantra to wives of both the king and prime minister.

[77] When perhaps Hem Raj was the *ācārya*.

[78] Perhaps Chandra said this of him or Hem Raj writes this of Chandra.

[79] Lit., "above."

[80] Possibly she went for a pilgrimage.

Sylvain Lévi (1863-1935)

There is little point in recapitulating here Sylvain Lévi's life and scientific work, which have already been written about by many fine scholars,[81] but I do wish to point out some less known aspects of his personality, and how this influenced his scholarship.

Lévi was a philologist and a translator in the best French *paramparā* of Indian drama studies.[82] He always regarded his work as a translator, and the thorough explanation of particular points, as of the highest importance for an understanding of Indian culture. Lévi said that we can see the value of this method in translators of the past, such as Kumārajīva. According to him, Kumārajīva's translations made Sanskrit Buddhist texts easier to understand in Chinese than in Sanskrit, and thanks to their knowledge and diffusion there was an exceptional expansion of Buddhism in Tibet and in China. Therefore, the role of translators can never be too highly esteemed. At the same time, if one explains in detail a particular point, there will be "répercussions indéfinies,"[83] namely, one will be able to understand the whole context. The small feature can show up the big or, in Lévi's words, ". . . suivant la parole hindue 'montrer l'infini dans la plume d'un paon'."[84] In this way, the work of translators such as Kumārajīva is one of the main factors in the history of civilization—in this case, the history of the diffusion of Buddhism. If we understand how this scholar was formed, we clarify a significant part of history. Lévi did not want to build up a system, he wanted to understand and explain the single point.[85]

Lévi published translations of Buddhist Sanskrit texts, comparing in detail the most ancient Chinese and Tibetan translations, thus allowing us to weigh variants and to emend the original text. P. E. Foucaux had already used this method (in his study of the *Lalitavistara*), and T. Stcherbatsky and L. de La Vallée Poussin were doing so in the same period as Lévi. Nevertheless, Lévi himself said that he had taught the method or, to use his own words, "le mantra des études tibétaines"[86] to Indian pandits. According to Étienne Lamotte,[87] it was due to the direction of Lévi's pupil Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya[88] that Viśva-Bhāratī, the international university established by Tagore in Śāntiniketan, became "le foyer des études tibétaines dans l'Inde"[89]—due, that is, to Lévi's teaching the application of the comparative method in philology and translation.

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[81] E.g., see *Hommage à Sylvain Lévi pour le centenaire de sa naissance (1963): Conférences par Luciano Petech, Étienne Lamotte, Paul-Émile Dumont*, Institut de Civilisation Indienne (Paris: Éditions E. De Boccard, 1964); *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi* (Paris: Paul Hartmann, 1937) (I owe the copy of the book I used to Roberto Donatoni, who brought it for me from Paris); J. Bloch, obituary in *L'univers Israél* (November 9, 1935); A. Foucher, "Lettre sur Sylvain Lévi," in "Sylvain Lévi et son œuvre," *Bulletin de la Maison franco-japonaise*, tome huitième, no. 2, 4 (anné 1936); M. Maschino, "Œuvre complète de Sylvain Lévi," and N. Stchoupak, "Index," in *Bibliographie bouddhique*, vols. 7-8 (1934-1936).

[82] Chézy, Nève, Strehly, Regnaud, Foucaux, Henry and, above all, his teacher Abel Bergaigne, thanks to whom he wrote his book on theatre as his doctoral dissertation.

[83] [unlimited repercussions]

[84] [. . . to follow the Hindu saying, "to display infinity in the feather of a peacock"]

[85] Frédéric Lefèvre, *Une heure avec . . .*, troisième série (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1925), 110f. Cf. L. Renou, "Sylvain Lévi et son œuvre scientifique," in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi* (as in fn. 81), xxiv.

[86] [the mantra of Tibetan studies]

One of the first Europeans in modern times to be admitted to Nepal, Lévi was an historian, an explorer and an anthropologist whose knowledge covered the whole of that country, even though in his book *Le Népal: Étude historique d'un royaume Hindou* (Paris 1905) he focused on the Kathmandu Valley.[90] As Petech wrote,[91] ". . . son ouvrage de 1905 suffit à lui assurer la position de ādiguru, d'initiateur de tout le travail qui s'est poursuivi pendant ce demi-siècle."[92]

Lévi was an Indologist whose interests covered both ancient and modern times; he was an epigraphist, an historian of religions, a Buddhist scholar, a Japanologist and Sinologist. He twice visited India and the Far East, taught for over fifty years, and wrote 354 books and papers. He died suddenly at the age of 72, his genius still as apparent as ever.

The general aversion of the Ranas towards foreigners did not apply to Lévi. Bir Shamsher in particular, who was prime minister from 1885 until his death in 1901, tried to deal only with him among all the foreign scholars. Chandra Shamsher asked a Bengali teacher to translate into English Lévi's book *Le Népal*.[93] All this happened in spite of the fact that the

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[87] E. Lamotte, "L'Œuvre bouddhique de Sylvain Lévi," conference held at the Institut de Civilisation Indienne (the institute established by Lévi himself) on April 24, 1963, one hundred years after Lévi's birth.

[88] I have copies of two letters of his to Hem Raj. One of them has been published in Nepal, *Paṃ hemarāja śarmā* (as in fn. 4), 148.

[89] [the focus of Tibetan studies in India]

[90] Giuseppe Tucci in the introduction to his book *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (Rome: Is.M.E.O., 1956) wrote that during his time the central and western parts of Nepal were practically unknown, and that nothing could be proved about the history of the families that ruled over them, "their origin, or the causes of their decay beyond the scanty information collected by Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, Wright and Lévi, the interest of scholars having been chiefly concentrated upon the history of the Nepalese Valley."

[91] Luciano Petech, "Les Études d'histoire népalaise après Sylvain Lévi," in *Hommage à Sylvain Lévi* (as in fn. 81), 14.

[92] [. . . his work of 1905 is enough to guarantee him the position of ādiguru, initiator of all the work done throughout this half-century.]

[93] Dr. Rishikesh Shaha, according to what he told me on February 7, 1999, has the copyright on the English translation. Shaha is a scholar and politician of Nepal who is now known as a human rights activist (he was once a serious candidate to succeed Dag Hammerskjöld as secretary-general). *Le Népal* is dedicated to the Maharajas "Bir Sham Sher Jang, Deb Sham Sher Jang, and Chander Sham Sher Jang" for having supported and encouraged Lévi's research. Chandra's picture is on the page before the introduction. Chandra Shamsher is also thanked in the introduction to the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* for having allowed him to visit Nepal twice. The second time Lévi stayed for four months (March 24 — July 24), enjoying a hospitality "fasteuse autant que cordiale" [both stately and cordial] that allowed research to be carried out under the best conditions. The English translation should just have

British tried to discourage any contact between Nepal and foreign scholars, since they wanted to be the only go-between to foreign countries. Indeed Chandra was favourable to the British and was the first fluent English speaker among the Ranas.

In November 1998 *Himāl, The South Asian Magazine* published an English excerpt of Lévi's book titled "Throes of a Vertigo" and a photograph of a smiling Lévi, his wife and his son posing in traditional Nepalese attire (p. 6).[94]

In Kesari Raj Pandey's house a small picture in a big wooden frame is hung in his living room, below a photograph of King Birendra with the Queen, and between another one of Kesari himself as a boy (right) and a third one of Hem Raj, his third wife and their three children. It is a Christmas and New Year's card dated 1923-24 and written by Kaiser Shamsher to Hem Raj.[95] The caption at the bottom reads:

> Professor Sylvain Lévi, the eminent French Orientalist and Epic Historian of Nepal, in the MSS Library, Kathmandu with the Manyavan (*sic*) Gururaj Hem Raj Panditjyu.

In the Kaiser Shamsher Library, Levi's painted profile is hung between those of Hara Prasad Shastri and Giuseppe Tucci.[96]

Lévi was not only one of the most prolific and complete Oriental scholars of any time, but also much loved and respected by pupils and colleagues. His personal standing was as great as his scholarship. The French scholar was esteemed as an individual by virtually everyone who had the fortune to meet him. As if confirming the words written in his obituaries, however conventional, his presence is still vivid nowadays among Nepalese intellectuals, and evokes pleasant memories, stories and anecdotes in a measure beyond that of other famous scholars who visited the country under the Ranas. Many persons whom I met during my visit claimed to have ancestors or to know somebody somehow connected with Lévi. His memory in Nepal is still alive as that of an unusually dignified man. Alfred Foucher said that "Sylvain Lévi vivant était plus grand que son œuvre écrite."[97] Nowadays Lévi's memory in Nepal is even greater.

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been published, or be in the process of being published, by Himal Books (planned for 1999).

[94] The photo was first published by Theodore Riccardi, Jr. in *Kailash* 3 (1975), facing p. 6.

[95] I have already alluded to it above in the fourth paragraph.

[96] According to a caretaker of the library, Tucci himself donated his portrait to it.

[97] [The living Sylvain Lévi was greater than his written work.] A. Foucher, "Lettre sur Sylvain Lévi" (as in fn. 81).

If Lévi was much loved, for his part he gave back the same love for the subcontinent and, above all, Nepal. As he said on March 14, 1925[98]:

> J'ai eu la bonne fortune de visiter deux foix l'Inde, à vingt-cinq années de distance. Assez d'intervalle pour mesurer le chemin prodigeux parcouru par le soi-disant immuable Orient.
>
> Outre les observations que suggère le spectacle de la vie quotidienne, j'ai eu la chance d'en rapporter de véritables trésors de matériaux, en particulier du Népal, un pays que j'aime comme une petite patrie, où la protection éclairée du Maharaja a facilité ma tâche.
>
> Ce pays si rigoureusement fermé aux étrangers m'a accueilli deux fois. J'en suis l'historien, l'historiographe même et comme il est l'unique *conservatoire* des anciens manuscrits, j'ai pu y découvrir des textes qu'on avait toujours cru irrémediablement perdus. . . .[99]

He goes on to tell of the discovery of two important Buddhist manuscripts of the *Viṃśatikā* and the *Triṃśikā*, both of which he received from Hem Raj.

Lévi eventually went a total of three times to India and Nepal. The first time was from January to March 1898. Afterwards he dedicated himself to the study of the old period of Indian literature.[100] His second long trip dates back to 1921-22. In November 1921 he left Paris for Sri Lanka, then crossed over to and up through India to take part in the inauguration of Śāntiniketan on December 22, and proceeded on to Dacca, Calcutta, Benares and Nepal, where he resided four months. Thence he reentered India, stopping in many places, including Mysore and Bombay, went on to Colombo and Indo-China, and from there to Tokyo. Wherever he halted, he not only searched for manuscripts, but also gave classes and delivered lectures. He went back to Paris in June 1923.[101] He visited Nepal a final time for a few days in 1928.

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[98] Frédéric Lefèvre, *Une heure avec . . .* (as in fn. 85), 116.

[99] [I had the good luck to visit India twice, with a gap of twenty-five years in between. A gap sufficient to measure the prodigious strides made by the so-called unchangeable Orient.

Besides the observations which the spectacle of everyday life suggests, I had the chance to bring back real material treasures, especially from Nepal, a country which I love like a small motherland, where the enlightened protection of the Maharaja has made my task easier.

This country so rigidly closed to foreigners has welcomed me twice. I am its historian, its historiographer in person, and since it is the unique repository of ancient manuscripts, I was able to discover texts which had always been believed to be irremediably lost. . . .]

[100] See *La Doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brâhmanas* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1898) and all the Vedic works between 1890 and 1900. For a comprehensive bibliography, see "Œuvre complète de Sylvain Lévi" by Maurice Maschino in *Bibliographie Bouddhique*, 7 (1936), including a detailed index by Nadine Stchoupak. See also *Hommage à Sylvain Lévi*; J. Bloch, necrology in *L'univers Israél*; A. Foucher, "Sylvain Lévi et son œuvre" (all as in fn. 81); L. Renou, "Sylvain Lévi et son œuvre scientifique" (as in fn. 85).

[101] On this long tour see the diary of his wife, D. Lévi, *Dans l'Inde (de Ceylan au Népal)* (Paris: 1925).

Besides his scientific reports,[102] the trip of 1922-23 yielded social and geographic annotations, printed in *L'Asie Nouvelle, La Géographie*, XLI (24), where is also published his lecture for the Société de Géographie on Tagore and Śāntiniketan, and another on Nepal and its government.

We mentioned Lévi's love for the subcontinent, and above all Nepal. There were several reasons for it. We have seen that Lévi was warmly welcomed in Nepal, and this was undoubtedly one of its attractions. He also praised Nepal's climate which, being more clement than that of India, was more pleasant, and so less injurious to the delicate manuscripts written on palm leaf.[103] He also praised the fact that a country so closed to foreigners was so open to "hommes de science":

> La grande puissance d'Europe et le petit royaume asiatique s'entendent à reconnaître et à proclamer la neutralité de la science, qui appartient à l'humanité entière. Des Anglais, des Russes, des Allemands, des Français ont été autorisés à étudier ou à rechercher sur le territoire népalais. . . . Il y a six ans encore, le gouvernement gourkha a donné une nouvelle preuve du bienveillant intérêt qu'il porte à la science en autorisant dans le Téraï les investigations archéologiques. . . .[104]

What clearly appears from Lévi's words is that he wanted to understand Asia by an effort "de sympathie et d'intelligence pour comprendre les civilizations étrangères dans leur passé et leur présent."[105] Regarding the problem whether French colonization was good or bad for Indo-China, and whether its "umanesimo" or "humanisme" could become the interpreter of Asia (which Europe, and especially France as a colonial power, craved), he opined that Europe had always had a superiority complex. Wherever Europeans brought their civilization, the indigenous moral and material order was diminished, while the new golden pillar that Oriental people came to believe in appeared to be nothing but golden-coloured cardboard. All this generated pain and confusion. According to Lévi, the Russian revolution everywhere offered itself in order to enrol other countries under its red flag,

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[102] Communication in *Journal Asiatique*, 1923, II, 359.

[103] See, for example, his letter dated September 4, 1924, the introduction to the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* (as in fn. 12), xii; *Le Népal* (as in fn. 18), 23, 43-45, 51 *et passim*, and his interview *Une heure avec* . . . (as in fn. 85).

[104] [The great power of Europe and the small Asian kingdom agree on recognizing and proclaiming the neutrality of scholarly activity, which belongs to the whole of humankind. The English, Russians, Germans and French have been allowed to study or to do research on Nepalese territory. . . . Only six years ago the Gorkha government gave new proof of the benign interest it has toward scholarly activity by allowing archaeological investigations in the Teraï. . . .] *Une heure avec* . . . (as in fn. 85), 112-115.

[105] [of sympathy and intelligence in order to understand foreign civilizations in their past and their present]

> qui est la bannière de guerre contre la civilisation européenne, solidaire et responsable du régime capitaliste dont l'indigène aux colonies est toujours plus ou moins la victime.[106]

If Europe did not make any effort to understand Asia, the Asian drama would steer towards crisis. Science, which is a "forme de vie et un instrument politique,"[107] should make every effort to comprehend indigenous civilization in its most intimate spirit, its values and its durable features. Western civilization should offer itself as a merchant offers his goods, and let others choose according to their taste, time and pleasure. We should no longer impose our civilization on others. We should assist indigenous people in this delicate choice, encouraging them, while ourselves trying to understand what they want to save of their own traditions, and whether they want to mix them with ours.

> Le vieux régime colonial est, de l'avis universel, mort et enterré.[108]

Lévi clearly indicates the role of Western civilization and of Oriental studies. Colonial countries should present themselves as agents of goodwill who hope and wait for the collaboration "de ce que le caprice de l'histoire a, par hasard plus que par logique, associé à leur destinée."[109] In the case of France and Indochina, both people and politicians would know that there are many civilizations, such as the Khmer and the Chinese. ". . . quand ils sauront sommairement, mais substantiellement, quelles en sont les données intimes, l'action de la France en Indochine sera bienfaisante et solide."[110] France should be careful to avoid

> des mesures précipitées qui, pour flatter le chauvinisme prudhommesque, risqueraient d'arracher les générations présentes aux garanties de leur passé sans aucune compensation. . . .[111]

Therefore the study of the problems to which Orientalists, and in particular Indologists, dedicate themselves takes on "une valeur humaine considérable."[112] According to Lévi, when we talk about Indian civilizations, we are talking about the history, customs and beliefs of over 300,000,000 people in 1921, and by thinking of how many other people of the past lived in that century, we arrive at "nombres qui confondent l'imagination."[113] The study of these civilizations thus involves millions of people, and is interlinked with them. We should never lose contact with the life that vivifies our studies, and this is all the more reason for scholars to go to the countries they are studying.

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[106] [which is the banner of war against European civilization, jointly and separately responsible for the capitalistic regime of which the indigenous people in the colonies are always more or less the victims]

[107] [way of life and a political tool]

[108] [The old colonial regime is, by universal consent, dead and buried.]

[109] [of what the caprice of history, by chance more than by logic, has in store for their predestined people]

[110] [. . . once they know concisely, but concretely, the intimate facts pertaining to it, France's activity in Indochina will be benign and substantial.]

[111] [hasty measures which, while encouraging the chauvinism of Prudhomme, risk uprooting the present generations from the safeguards of their past without any compensation. . . .]

[112] [a considerable human value]

Lévi's intellectual and emotional empathy with Asia—and with the whole world[114]—and his immunity from the dangerous nationalism of his period brought him to the realization contained in his prophetic words on colonialism, and on the role of science and particularly of Oriental studies. In 1925, when Fascism and Nazism were already fully established, Lévi for the first time openly criticized the Aryan myth of the Germans, their claim to belong to a pure race which alone had the right to interpret ancient Indian books. It is little wonder, then, that he criticized German Vedic studies. According to him, in order to underscore the purity and the antiquity of their race Germans declared themselves to be the direct heirs of ancient Indian civilization. For that reason, and since Germans did not have their own Bible, their own revelation and their own prophets and patriarchs, Lévi said that they claimed to have logically inherited the right to interpret ancient Indian books.

It was such ideological opposition that brought Lévi to oppose what he saw as the barbarian language of the Vedic hymns, and to praise instead the Vedic prose, which according to him was as high as that of Plato's dialogues. When Max Müller was still living, he criticized those who still or once had regarded the Veda as the source of all subsequent Indian cultures, and as the books *par excellence* of the Aryan people. All this, he said, had compromised the study of the Veda in the 19th century. According to him, this is also why a scholar of genius like Abel Bergaigne—his beloved Sanskrit teacher and the author of *Religion védique d'après les hymnes du Rig Veda* (Paris: 1878-1897)—was for such a long time not fully appreciated, even though the method he practised in his works was the basis for modern studies.

Lévi wrote several papers and his second book, *La Doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brâhmanas* (Paris: 1898), in the swirl of these ideas on the Veda and German Vedic studies, and with the sense of following in the footsteps of his teacher's radical criticism of the notion of the Veda. Unfortunately, his criticism led him to deny the existence of a Vedic society and culture, and to affirm that Vedic literature was just the mental construct of a caste of priests out of touch with reality and their own time. In his understanding, then, the Veda was not so ancient as Germans claimed for their own purposes.

If Lévi's criticism of German Vedic studies was scholarly sound, and also fully justified in view of the period in which the Jewish scholar was writing, his anti-German feelings strongly influenced his studies on the Veda and set him going along the wrong path.

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[113] [numbers that defy the imagination]

[114] He loved to repeat *Homo sum et nihil humanum a me alienum puto* and *vasudhaiva kuṭumbakam* (M. Jean Filliozat, "Diversité de l'œuvre de Sylvain Lévi," in *Hommage* [as in fn. 81], 54).

Lévi was against the concept of Western superiority, against colonialism, and against the Aryan myth. Nevertheless, his words on the Russian "red flag" should not make us think of him as another communist of the time, since he was equally against political internationalism. In fact, his aversion for what "Romain Rolland and such internationalists" stood for was, as Kalidas Nag wrote in his *Memoirs*, well known.[115]

The Bengalese Kalidas Nag (1892-1966) became Lévi's and Jules Bloch's student in Paris in 1920. After his visit in 1921 to Italy and his meetings with the professors Carlo Formichi, Giovanni Vacca and Ferdinando Belloni-Filippi, and with Giuseppe Tucci (who at the time was an administrative secretary of the library in the Camera dei Deputati), he became the intermediary between Viśva-Bhāratī and the Italian scholars. Despite his own misgivings about "such internationalists," he was a close friend and a collaborator of Tagore and helped in diffusing knowledge about the huge number of works of the poet in Europe—and inevitably his pacifist, internationalist and communalist ideas. Nag did his part to bring Tagore to Italy,[116] and was also a friend of Romain Rolland. In order to promote the idea of a greater India whose "mission" would always be to peacefully spread its culture throughout Asia, and to enhance its internationalist character, he and other Calcutta scholars in 1926 established the Greater India Society. The aim was to coordinate the studies of Indian scholars "with a view to recover this great yet unfortunately neglected chapter of history from oblivion," to find out how Indian civilization was able to overcome "the barriers of narrow nationhood" and to inaugurate "the path of International Fellowship and Peaceful Co-operation."[117] Nag's ideas, then, were strongly and openly internationalist. He wanted the Greater India Society to be linked to the internationalist movement, as he himself underlined in a speech given to the congress titled "The Role of Internationalism in the Development of Civilization," held in Switzlerland in 1922 under the auspices of the Women's International Congress for Peace and Freedom.[118] Nag shared internationalist ideas that were strong at the time.

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[115] Kalidas Nag, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, ed. by S. Lal and Viswanathan (Calcutta: Writers Workshop [New York, N.Y.: Jean Johnson (agents in the U.S.A.)], 1991), 109.

[116] During the trip of 1925, Tagore gave a speech in January at the Philological Centre in Milan where, in the presence of Formichi and the highest ranks of the Fascist hierarchy, he strongly, if indirectly, criticized Fascism itself. Consequently, first Mussolini, and then Formichi and Tucci, criticized the poet. However, due to the great success of Tagore's visit to Italy, his international fame, and the economic and political interest of Mussolini in good relations with India, he was asked to visit Italy again. He went to Italy in May 1926, after Formichi came back from his teaching stint at Viśva-Bhāratī. Even though he did not come as Mussolini's guest, Tagore accepted a gift from him to the university of five hundred books, many of them on Fascism. Several Indian newspapers, including the *Statesman* of May 22, 1926, the *Forward* of June 13, 1926, the *Madras Mail* of June 17, 1926, and the *Times of India* of August 2, 1926, published Tagore's pronouncement "I am glad of an opportunity of seeing Mussolini and his work. He is a great man and Fascism is assured of a place in history". In May he enjoyed Mussolini's hospitality. Soon after he left Italy, a fellowship for Italian students who wanted to study in Viśva-Bhāratī was established there, and a similar fellowship for Indian students who wanted to study in Italy. A division of Viśva-Bhāratī was set up in Rome, together with the Society of Tagore's Friends, directed by the general secretary of the university, Gour Gopal Ghosh. However, from Switzerland, as requested by his friend Rolland and other anti-Fascists whom he had met either there or in Vienna, Tagore wrote an open letter to his close friend C. F. Andrews in which he dissented from the Fascist ideology. After an exchange of letters in the *Manchester Guardian* on the subject between Formichi (C. Formichi, "Tagore in Italy: Two Interviews with Signor Mussolini," August 25, 1926) and Tagore (R. Tagore, "Dr. Tagore and Fascism," September 20, 1926), Formichi and the other scholars severed all relations with the Indian. But in December of the same year, Tucci, then in Viśva-Bhāratī to teach Italian, approached Tagore on a personal level and asked him to give him all his books "not as compensation for the work I may have done, but as a mark of love" (Rabindra Bhavana Collection, *Correspondence*, fasc. 47, letter of Tucci to Tagore dated December 29, 1926, cited in Mario Prayer, *Internazionalismo e nazionalismo culturale, gli intellettuali bengalesi e l'Italia negli anni Venti e Trenta*, Supplement no. 1 to the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, vol. 69 [Rome: Bardi Editore, 1996], 38, fn. 79).

Nag's remarks on Lévi, given that the former tried not to become involved in European political fights among scholars, and that, moreover, he was Lévi's student, are particularly pregnant. Lévi's political ideas were communitarian more than communistic, and we do not know whether his opposition to internationalism was a firm political point of view or only due to his opposition to Rolland.

In fact, it cannot but surprise us that, for his part, Romain Rolland regarded Lévi's aversion as the expression of a certain jealousy after the publication and success of his books on modern India. Rolland writes after seeing his *Mahatma Gandhi* into print in 1923:

> les indianistes sont émoi. Comment ai-je pu oser parler de l'Orient sans être de la confrérie orientaliste? Sylvain Lévi . . . est particulièrement froissé:—car je l'ai devancé—(sans y penser).[119]

At the beginning of the 1920s, Lévi had already interfered with Nag's plan to have Rolland meet with Tagore. Because of his collaboration with Rolland, Nag was himself badly regarded in the French academic community.

Rolland and Lévi were always enemies, as Rolland wrote in 1930:

> À Paris, Sylvain Lévi a manifesté devant [Kalidas Nag) son hostilité à mon égard (une fois de plus). Il ne me pardonne pas—après mon *Gandhi*,—mon *Vivekananda*. Il hait d'ailleurs Vivekananda, comme il me hait. Il dit:—"Ces deux rétoriquers . . ."—Pour lui l'Inde doit rester un objet de musée et d'archives.

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[117] "Greater Indian Society," *Modern Review*, 40, 5 (November 1926): 574f., cited in M. Prayer, *Internazionalismo* (as in fn. 116), 57, fn. 141.

[118] Romain Rolland, Herman Hesse and Bertrand Russell took part in the congress, and ten years later Tagore sent a message to the same organization in Brussels that talks about freedom and its price.

[119] [. . . the Indologists are upset. How did I dare to talk about the Orient without belonging to the fraternity of Orientalists? Sylvain Lévi . . . is particularly hurt:—because I have surpassed him—(without intending to).] In M. Prayer, *Internazionalismo* . . . (as in fn. 116), 58. In passing, I would like to note that the attitude of being against any study of modern India, and that of being the *only* scholars entitled to study India, is still present in certain contemporary academic circles.

> Défense de revivre! [. . .] Ces Juifs, qui se donnent le ridicule de poser en répresentants (outrés) de l'Occident contre l'Asie![120]

Lévi may have gotten very personal on the subject of Rolland's work, but we cannot but note that Rolland's spiteful words "These Jews" were, alas, perfectly in tune with the general social and political feeling of the time.

Lévi's First Letter to Hem Raj

The following letter is the first we have of Lévi's correspondence with Hem Raj, which numbers five letters in total. It is dated November 8, 1923. The second letter is dated March 29, 1924, and the third one September 4, 1924. To the first and the second we have Hem Raj's answer. Prakash A. Raj sent the 1923 letter to me at the beginning of 1998; it was not microfilmed by the NGMPP.

Except for the signature and the address of the author at the bottom, which are in Roman script, the letter is written in a clear Devanāgarī on two sides of a sheet of French paper measuring 17.4 x 11.1 cm.

Even though Hem Raj held a high rank in Nepal, and was treated by Lévi accordingly, their relationship was certainly one of both reciprocal respect and affection, as is evident from the letter below and from Hem Raj's reply.[121]

Lévi particularly loved Nepal, which he considered virtually his second homeland,[122] and in the bulk of the correspondence we have, he was the only Indologist who greeted the country itself in his letters.

After a long preamble with a respectful salutation to Hem Raj, and the expression of his warm feeling for him, Lévi reports on the Prime Minister's letter promising to send him copies of the manuscript commentaries he has asked for. Lévi thinks that Hem Raj has supervised everything Lévi himself worked on. As is usual in this kind of correspondence, in the last lines Lévi, who views himself as somebody who is "greedily desirous" (*gṛdhnoḥ*) of learning, makes his request. The year before, Hem Raj had shown him the manuscript of the *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-koṣa* (by Sāgaranandin).[123] Lévi wished to have it in order to study it with his students.

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[120] [In Paris, Sylvain Lévi has displayed in front of [Kalidas Nag] his hostility towards me (once more). He does not forgive me for—after my *Gandhi*—my *Vivekananda*. Moreover, he hates Vivekananda the way he hates me. He says: "These two rhetoricians . . ." —According to him India should remain a museum and archives object. God forbid any revival! [. . .] These Jews, who invite ridicule by posing as (outraged) symbols of the West in front of Asia!] *Ibid.*, 58, fn. 147.

[121] In the usual ornate Indian style, Hem Raj expresses in the first half his affectionate feelings towards his "friend" Lévi, whose voice is "wet with knowledge" and whose vision is very beautiful. The other half of the letter is dedicated to old books never seen before and manuscripts that, thanks to Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher, Hem Raj himself and Chandra's son Kaiser managed to get their hands on. Then Hem Raj adds news about the texts Lévi has asked for.

[122] "Outre les observations que suggère le spectacle de la vie quotidienne, j'ai eu la chance d'en rapporter de véritables trésors de matériaux, en particulier du Népal, un pays que j'aime comme une petite patrie, où la protection éclairée du Maharaja a facilité ma tâche." The bibliographical reference is to Frédéric Lefèvre, *Une heure avec . . .* (as in fn. 85), 116.

The study of drama was an early preference of Lévi and was due, as Renou remarks,[124] to a long lineage of French Indologists who dealt with this subject, to his teacher Abel Bergaignė (who had his translation of *Śakuntalā* published) and to his own artistic inclination.[125] His doctoral dissertation, published in Paris in 1890 with the title *Le Théâtre indien*,[126] was the first systematic work on theatre (with the exception of *Select Specimen* by Wilson in 1827, over sixty years before), and a milestone in the field for decades. In 1902 Lévi came back to the study of theatre with a paper in which he put forward an original hypothesis on its origins.[127] This letter shows that in 1923 he was working again on the subject.

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[123] The *Naṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-koṣa* was edited by M. Dillon in London in 1937. It was translated by M. Dillon, V. Raghavan and M. Fowler in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series 50, pt. 9 (1960). The first mentions in classical literature were those by Bhānujī in his commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* (Oxf. 182.b): *The Namalinganusasana (Amarakosha) of Amarasinha: With the Commentary (Vyakhyasudha or Ramasrami) of Bhanuji Dikshit*, ed. with notes by Pandit Sivadatta of Jeypur, rev. 3rd ed. by Vasudeo Laksman Sastri Pansikar (Bombay: T. Javaji, 1905). See the modern study by Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya, *Naṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-koṣa in the Perspective of Ancient Indian Drama and Dramaturgy* (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1974). A *Nāṭaka-ratna-koṣa* was also quoted by Rāyamukuṭa in his commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* 1.1.7.32: *Amarasiṃhavirācite Nāmaliṅgānuśāsane Rāyamukuṭakṛta Padacandrikā*, mūlasahita, Kalikātāsaṃskṛtamahāvidyālaya gaveṣaṇagranthamālā, granthāṅka 48, 86.s Lexicon nos. 2-3 (Kalikātānagaryam [Saṃskṛta Caleja], 1966-1973).

[124] L. Renou, "Sylvain Lévi et son œuvre scientifique" (as in fn. 85).

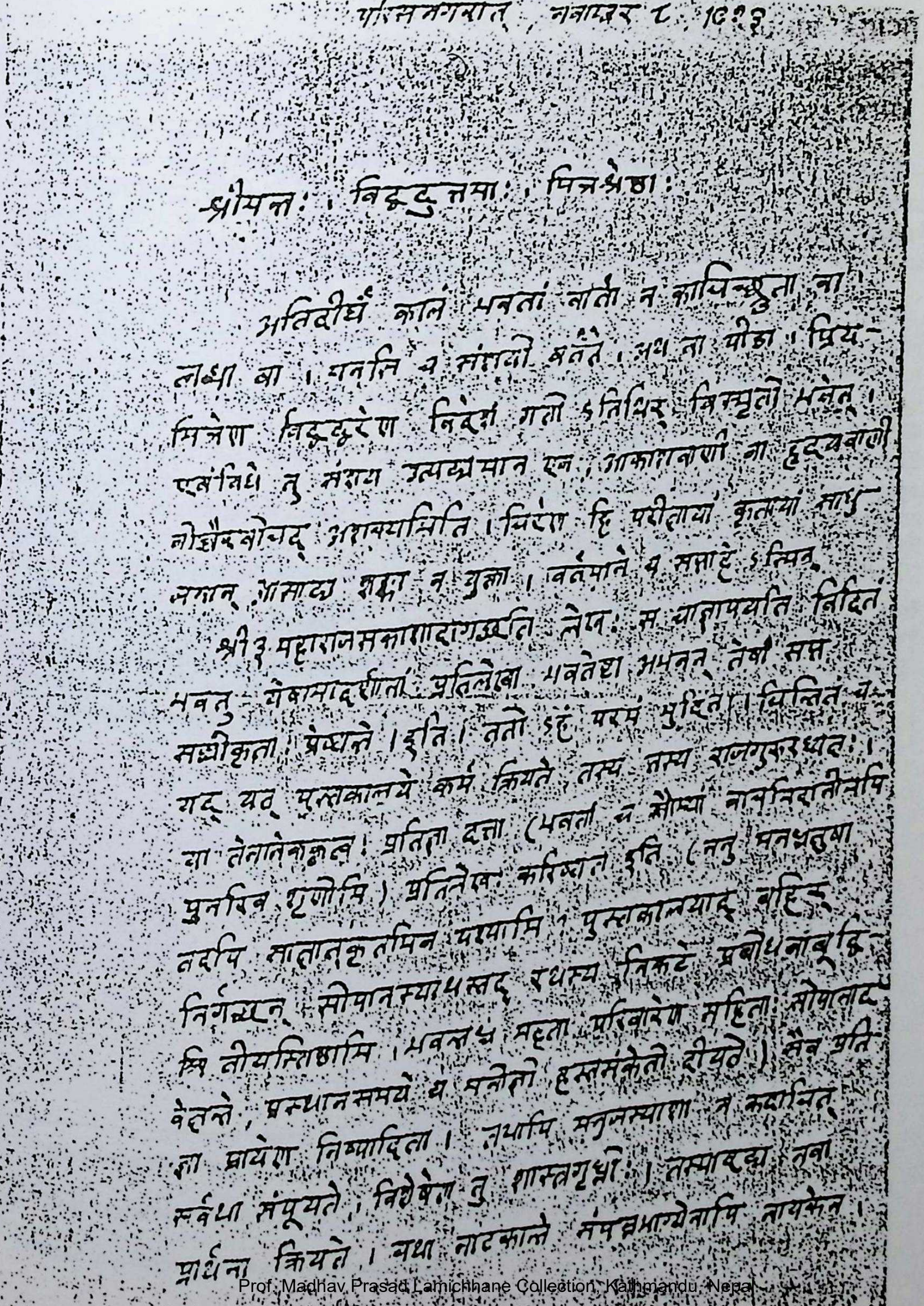
[125] It is enough to quote Lévi's own words in *Le Théâtre indien*: "Si nous avons donné la préférence à ce genre litéraire, c'est que la poésie indienne lui doit ses plus glorieux chefs-d'œuvre" [If we have shown preference for this literary genre, it is because Indian poetry owes to it its greatest masterpieces.] (p. 9); or "L'Inde antique a façonné le nāṭaka, qui reste encore la plus heureuse invention dramatique du génie indien" [Ancient India has created the nāṭaka, which still is the most felicitous dramatic invention of Indian genius.] (p. 429).

[126] Bibliothèque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences Philologiques, 83. fasc. (Paris: E. Bouillon, 1890).

[127] "Sur quelques termes employés dans les inscriptions des Kṣatrapas," first published in *Journal Asiatique* in 1902, and then translated into English, with some enlargements, in *Indian Antiquary*, 33.

6. Copy of the original letter

Recto

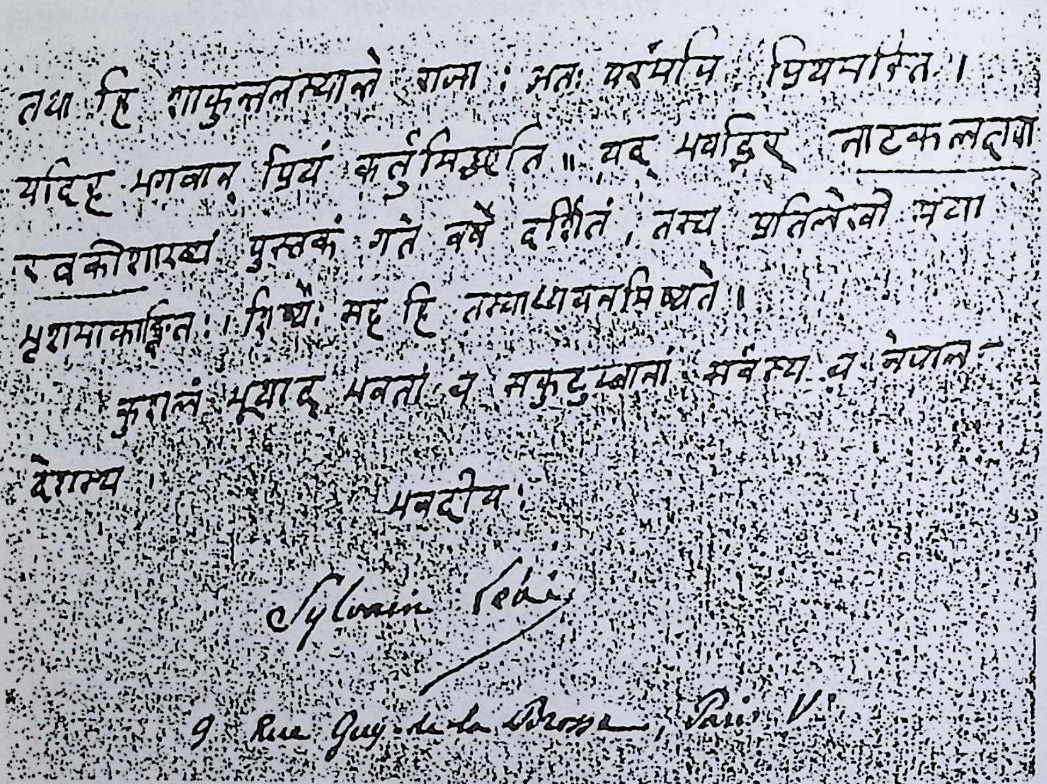


पारिसनगरात् , नवाम्बर ८ . १९२३

श्रीमन्तः , विद्वदुत्तमाः , मित्रश्रेष्ठाः

अतिदीर्घं कालं भवतां वार्ता न काचिच्छ्रुता वा
लब्धा वा । भवति च संशयो वर्तते । अथ वा पीडा । प्रिय-
मित्रेण विद्वद्वरेण निरुद्धं गतो ऽतिचिरं विस्मृतो भवेत् ।
एवंविधे तु संशये उत्पद्यमान एव , आकाशवाणी वा हृदयवाणी
वोद्घोषयद् अशक्यमिति । चिरेण हि परीक्षायां कृतायां साधु-
जनान् आसाद्य शङ्का न युक्ता । वर्तमाने च सप्ताहे ऽस्मिन्
श्री ३ महाराजसकाशादागच्छति लेखः स ज्ञापयति विदित
भवतु येषामादर्शानां प्रतिलेखा भवतेष्टा अभवन् तेषां सप्त
सज्जीकृता प्रेष्यन्ते । इति । ततो ऽहं परमं मुदितः । चिन्तितं च
यद् यद् पुस्तकालये कर्म क्रियते तस्य तस्य राजगुरुरध्यक्षः ।
वा तेनातिकालं । प्रतिज्ञा दत्ता (भवता च सौम्या नातिनिदानीमपि
पुनरिव शृणोमि) प्रतिलेखाः करिष्यन्त इति (ननु भवद्वचसा
तदपि सातानकृतमिव पश्यामि । पुस्तकालयाद् बहिर्
निर्गच्छन् सोपानस्याधस्ताद् रथस्य निकटे प्रबोधनाबुद्धि-
ऽस्मि नीयमिशिष्यामि । भवांश्च महता परिवारेण सहितः सोपानाद्
वेदन्ते , प्रस्थानसमये च भवतो हस्तसंकेतो दीयते) सैव प्रति
ता प्रायेण निष्पादिता । तथापि मनुजस्याशा न कदाचित्
सर्वथा संपूयते , विशेषेण तु शास्त्रगृध्नोः । तस्मादद्य तव
प्रार्थना क्रियते । यथा नाटकाले संभवभाग्येनापि नायकेन ।

Verso



तथा हि शाकुन्तलस्यान्ते राजा : अतः परमपि प्रियमस्ति ।
यदिह भगवान् प्रियं कर्तुमिच्छति ॥ यद् भवद्भिर् नाटकलक्षण
रत्नकोशाख्यं पुस्तकं गते वर्षे दर्शितं, तस्य प्रतिलेखो मया
भृशमाकाङ्क्षितः । शिष्यैः सह हि तस्याध्ययनमिष्यते ।
कुशलं भूयाद् भवतां च सकुटुम्बानां सर्वस्य च नेपाल-
देशस्य

भवदीयः

Sylvain Lévi

9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris V.

7. Transliteration

[1]

parisa-nagarāt, navāmbara 8, 1923

śrīmantaḥ, vidvad-uttamāḥ, mitra-śreṣṭhāḥ

ati-dīrghaṃ kālaṃ bhavatāṃ vārtā na kācic chrutā vā | labdhā vā | manasi ca saṃśayo vartate | atha vā pīḍā | priya-mitreṇa vidvad-vareṇa videśaṃ gato 'tithir vismṛto bhavet | evaṃ-vidhe tu saṃśaya utpadyamāna eva, ākāśa-vāṇī vā hṛdaya-vāṇī voccair avocad aśakyam iti | cireṇa hi parīkṣāyāṃ kṛtāyāṃ sādhu-janān āsādya śaṅkā na yuktā | vartamāne ca saptāhe 'smin

śrī3 mahā-rāja-sakāśād āgacchati lekhaḥ sa cājñāpayati viditaṃ bhavatu
yeṣām ādarśānāṃ pratilekhā bhavateṣṭā abhavan teṣāṃ sapta sajjī-kṛtāḥ preṣyante | iti | tato 'haṃ paramaṃ muditaḥ | cintitaṃ ca yad yat pustakālaye karma kriyate, tasya tasya rāja-gurur adhyakṣaḥ | yā tenāneka-kṛtvaḥ pratijñā dattā (bhavatām ca saumyāṃ vācam idānīm api punar iva śṛṇomi) pratilekhaḥ kariṣyata iti (nanu manaś-cakṣuṣā tad api sākṣāt-kṛtam iva paśyāmi? pustakālayād bahir nirgacchan sopānasyāthastad[128] rathasya nikaṭe prabodhanāṃbū | dvi(xx)i nīyas tiṣṭhāmi, bhavantaś ca mahatā parivāreṇa sahitāḥ sopānād avekṣante, prasthāna-samaye ca manojño hasta-saṃketo dīyate) saiva pratijñā prāyeṇa niṣpāditā | tathāpi manujasyāśā na kadācit sarvathā saṃp | yate[129], viśeṣeṇa tu śāstra-gṛdhnoḥ | tasmād adya navā prārthanā kriyate | tathā nāṭakānte saṃpanna-bhāgyenāpi nāyakena | **[2]** tathā hi
śākuntalasyānte rājā: ataḥ param api priyam asti | yadiha bhagavān priyaṃ kartum icchati | |
yad bhavadbhir nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośākhyaṃ pustakaṃ gate varṣe darśitaṃ, tasya pratilekho mayā bhṛśaṃ ākāṅkṣitaḥ | śiṣyaiḥ saha hi
tasyādhyāyanam[130] iṣyate |

kuśalaṃ bhūyād bhavatāṃ ca sa-kuṭumbānāṃ sarvasya ca nepāla-deśasya

bhavadīyaḥ

Sylvain Lévi

9 Rue Guy de la Brosse, Paris V

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[128] Read °*ādhastād* instead of °*āthastad*.

[129] Read *saṃpūryate* instead of *saṃpūyate*.

[130] Read *tasyādhyayanam* instead of *tasyādhyāyanam*.

8. Translation

From the town of Paris, November 8, 1923

[1]

Your Holiness,[131] most excellent of scholars, best of friends

For too long a time not any news has been heard or arrived from Your Holiness, and in [my] mind there is doubt, or rather pain. It may be that the guest gone abroad has been forgotten by [his] dear friend, the best of scholars. But when such a doubt indeed arises, a voice from Heaven or a voice from the heart loudly said: "Impossible!" In fact, [our] friendship having long been tested, after meeting honourable people [like Your Holiness, I realize that] the doubt is not appropriate.[132] And [the following] has been happening this week.

A letter arrived from His Highness Mahārāja,[133] and it informs [me] that "it may be understood that of the copies of the manuscripts that were desired by Your Excellency, seven will be sent [once] they are ready." Therefore I am very happy. And [I] recalled that the Royal Preceptor is the supervisor of whatever work is done in the library. The promise having been made several times by Him[134] (and I hear Your Holiness's amiable voice as if it were [present] even now again) that a copy will be made (do I see this too in the mind's eye, as if it were being done in front [of me]?), I, going outside from the library, stop below the staircase or next to the car, leading (xxx) out of the water of awakening,[135] and Your Holiness together with [Your] large [number] of dependant[s] looks down from the staircase, and at the time of my departure [You] make a pleasant gesture with [Your] hand. That promise indeed has in all probability [already] been kept. Nevertheless a man's hope is never completely fulfilled, especially in the case of [somebody like me] who is greedily desirous of learning. Therefore, today a new request is made. As at its end a drama may be [brought to its conclusion] by a hero who is fortunate **[2]**—as at the end of *Śākuntala* [when] the king [says]: "What other favour is there yet remaining? If, however, Your Holiness now wishes to confer a favour [then let it be this]."[136]—I strongly desire a copy of the book [titled] *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa* that was shown [to me] by Your Holiness last year. In fact I want to study it together with [my] students.

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[131] I have translated the honorific titles applied to Hem Raj, which Lévi uses in the third person plural as a sign of respect, according to the most probable use in Nepal at the beginning of the century. In this letter *bhavat* is translated as "Your Holiness" if Lévi, writing as a scholar, addresses Hem Raj, and as "Your Excellency" when it is the Maharaja who is addressing him. Moreover, as I have already noted, Lévi himself wrote that Hem Raj was addressed as "Sa Sainteté" (*Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* [as in fn. 16], xii). Honorific titles for Śrī3 Mahārāja3 are translated as "His Highness," and for the king as "His Majesty." For the use of these words, see the book by Surendranath Sen and Umesha Mishra, *Sanskrit Documents* (as in fn. 35), document 20, letter to the Raj Guru of Nepal dated A.D. 1938. It was common use in Nepal and India, as well as in Europe, to address university professors and famous scholars as "Your Excellency" (cf. the notes written by Mussolini to Tucci and other famous scholars and professors five years later; cf. also *Segreteria Particolare del Duce, Carteggio Ordinario*, n. 509.743, Accademia Reale d'Italia).

I have put in brackets what is added for a better understanding of the text, and in parentheses what I thought redundant.

[132] He means that since he met Hem Raj, he has been assessing their friendship, and that therefore the doubt is not appropriate.

[133] Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher.

[134] By the Prime Minister.

[135] Part of the original compound *prabodhanāṃbūdvi(xx)i* is illegible. Perhaps he is alluding to the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Kārtika (October-November) or means that he is going towards the Pokharini pond, which is near the library.

May [all] be well with Your Holiness along with [Your] family[137] and the whole country of Nepal,

Yours,

Sylvain Lévi

9 Rue Guy de la Brosse, Paris V

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[136] Transl. M. R. Kale. In the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* VI, 35, before the last stanza, the king says: "*ataḥ param api priyam asti* | *yad iha bhagavān priyaṃ kartum icchati [tarhīdam astu]*"

[137] Lit. "families"—the plural as a sign of respect.

A Plea for an Integrated Approach towards Manuscript Cataloguing[1]

REINHOLD GRÜNENDAHL

1 Both as an active participant, as well as a beneficiary of the rich harvest it is reaping, I have benefitted from the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP). The encounter with Nepal and her people, and with the testimonia of her culture, among which manuscripts hold a special place for me, has enriched my life and fertilized my studies in a lasting way. Some of the projects sparked off by my first-hand experience with the NGMPP actually saw the light of day, while others are in a protracted *status nascendi*.

The outstanding importance of the Nepalese manuscript tradition, and consequently of the NGMPP as a project devoted to its preservation, is so widely acknowledged that it hardly need further explanation or endorsement. Now that the practical side of preservation on microfilm has drawn to a close, efforts will concentrate all the more on providing adequate access to the NGMPP collections. The overall success of the project depends to a large extent on the functionality of the reference tools supplied for this wealth of material gathered in thirty years. The most comprehensive documentation to date is the card index filed parallel to ongoing microfilming activities. However, it cannot be made available to a wider public if only because of its size. For the same reason, conventional cataloguing of the entire collection is impractical, desirable though it may seem to adhere to, and perhaps exceed, standards set by the pioneering works of Haraprasāda Śāstrī and other recorders of Nepalese manuscript collections.[2]

When musing over these matters in 1987, towards the end of my term in Kathmandu, the preparation of a title-list seemed a practicable option. Thanks to the approval of Prof. Albrecht Wezler, and with financial support from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, I could take up work in the same year. It was clear from the start that in order to make such a list available as early as possible, it had to be confined to the essential manuscript data, viz. title and related personal name (author etc.), accession-number, material (palm leaf, paper etc.), number of folios, status (complete or otherwise), size, script, language(s), subject term, remarks, date of scribal note, and NGMPP reel number.

In the course of compilation, the list underwent various modifications and revisions. The extracts that were kindly made available to me in reply to various requests I addressed to the NGMPP office in Hamburg do indeed look very promising, and I trust that when the list will eventually be published it will become an indispensable reference tool, far beyond the limited circle of Indologists who have chosen manuscripts as the object of their special attention.

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[1] The following observations focus on the cataloguing of manuscripts in South Asian languages, particularly Sanskrit; eventual conclusions may be applicable to other contexts. With regard to the discussion of general aspects I am indebted to a book by Pat Oddy, *Future Libraries, Future Catalogues* (London : Library Association Publ., 1996). I dedicate this paper to the memory of Chandrabhal Tripathi.

[2] Strictly speaking, of course, the NGMPP does not deal with manuscripts, but with microfilms of manuscripts; however, in cataloguing practice this distinction is irrelevant. For catalogues of Nepalese manuscript collections see the bibliography in the introduction to my *Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue of the Durbar Library and the Microfilms of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland [VOHD], Suppl. 31 (Stuttgart : Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989).

The title-list project was put on a firm basis thanks to the expertise of Prof. Ronald E. Emmerick, who devised a database programme tailored to suit the NGMPP material as closely as possible. It was only after I had left the NGMPP in 1988 to take on my present position in Göttingen that I became fully aware of the great potential the database structure of the title-list offers beyond the immediate scope of the project.

2 Computer technology has completely reshaped library organization in general and cataloguing in particular, and is finally extending its influence over manuscript cataloguing. Whether this means that the days of sumptuous catalogue volumes, ornamented with the paraphernalia of academic heraldry, will soon be over remains to be seen. But, unlike only a few years ago, today it would generally be considered a sign of exceptional shortsightedness to deny the enormous advantages of computerized cataloguing. However, its full potential cannot be brought to fruition if it is reduced to a mere word processing aid to the end of producing a printed catalogue. Using the computer simply as a kind of electronic typewriter impedes further utilization of the collected data. The inefficiency of this approch becomes all too obvious when compared with database cataloguing (which, by the way, provides a fully compatible basis for publication in print). The most important advantage of database cataloguing is its versatility, which allows constant improvement and, if need be, thorough revision of individual records, thus enhancing the retrieval quality of the catalogue as a whole. Apart from that, it overcomes the limitations of print-based reference tools by providing the option to link up several database catalogues for simultaneous retrieval. Of course, this requires some degree of coordination, all the more so since the cataloguing of manuscripts as such has hitherto not been regulated to a great extent.

The assumed demand for directive has produced a thriving committee culture. However, the focus of these activities, as well as of various sets of rules treating every aspect of manuscript cataloguing with an admirable love of detail, is exclusively on "Western" manuscripts.[3]

Simultaneously, we witness the launch of ambitious projects[4] claiming to take care of everything from the definition of (yet differing?) cataloguing standards to the presentation of manuscripts in digital libraries accessible through the Internet,[5] including the development

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[3] See, for example, *Richtlinien Handschriftenkatalogisierung*, 5th expanded ed. (Bonn : Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Unterausschuß für Handschriftenkatalogisierung, 1992) 9ff.; for latest developments see the committee proceedings available under www.dfg.de/foerder/handschriften/tagung.html. A companion manual to the *Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules, 2nd Edition, Revised* (AACR2R), dealing exclusively with manuscript cataloguing, is currently in preparation (see below, fn. 6). Cf. also Otto Mazal, *The Keeper of Manuscripts: With a Chapter on Restoring the Text* (orig. publ. as *Zur Praxis des Handschriftenbearbeiters: Mit einem Kapitel zur Textherstellung*), transl. by Thomas J. Wilson & Martin McNamara, Bibliologia—Elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia, 11 (Turnhout: Bepols, 1992), 17ff.

[4] One example is MASTER (Manuscript Access through Standards for Electronic Records), "a European Union funded project to create a single online catalogue of medieval manuscripts in European libraries" (www.cta.dmu.ac.uk/projects/master).

[5] To suppose that presenting manuscripts, or early prints, in a kind of digital panopticum will promote or facilitate their serious study is rather far-fetched, if only in view of the simple fact that electronic documents are inappropriate for *sustained* reading (see Oddy [as in fn. 1], 15, with reference to Walt Crawford, Michael Gorman,

(proprietary?) software—which suggests that cataloguing programmes already available are considered inadequate to meet the proposed standard (if they are considered at all). In part, this kind of approach may be constrained by the eccentricity of national and international library funding policies that hold out better hopes for projects set up to reinvent the wheel than for securing assets to keep rather pedestrian pursuits on track. Depending on the individual perspective, the outcome of such aspiring ventures can be interpreted as pathbreaking innovations, or solutions in search of a problem.

3 Indologists may feel a need to contribute to these discussions,[6] and to join in ongoing activities. As may be gathered from the title of the present paper, integration is an aspect I do attach some importance to. But I doubt that the tasks "Western" and Indological cataloguers are each faced with can easily be reduced to a common denominator.

As already noted in the context of the NGMPP, one of the determinant factors of Indological manuscript cataloguing is the sheer volume of uncatalogued material.[7] The entire written tradition of South Asia was transmitted exclusively in manuscripts until the late 19th century, with offshoots reaching well into the 20th century. Admittedly, a large number of texts has since been published in print, but in relation to the sum total this is just the tip of the proverbial iceberg. And, particularly in view of what has so far been sounded of the volume of the NGMPP material, it would clearly be a grave navigational error to assume that only the visible part is of relevance.

3.1 In order to cope with a task of such dimensions, Indological cataloguing, at least in its first stage, has to confine itself to essential categories (see above), among which title and related name (author etc.)[8] stand out from all others because they are most important for retrieval. But even on a very basic level, cataloguing should, under all circumstances, include an element of subject classification, too, because this allows access to catalogue data through subject search. Improved subject classification, rather than extended formal description, should be in the focus of all ambitions aiming beyond basic cataloguing, because, with vast areas of South Asia's literary tradition still uncharted, manuscript catalogues, apart from their

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Future Libraires: Dreams, Madness & Reality, [Chicago / London : American Library Association, 1995], 17-25). For links to digital libraries of South Asian manuscripts see www.ucl.ac.uk/~ucgadkw/indnet-art.html.

[6] See a recent appeal by Dominik Wujastyk dispatched to the Indology discussion list on 27 January 2000 (no. 40 in the January 2000 archive [http://listserv.liv.ac.uk/archives/indology.html]), in which he invites comments on a draft version of rules by Gregory A. Pass: *Descriptive Cataloging of Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance, and Early-Modern Manuscripts* (available for download in various formats from ftp://165.134.156.3/vatican).

[7] The NGMPP alone amounts to more than 160,000 documents, the large majority of which are Sanskrit manuscripts.

[8] In Sanskrit literature this category is of secondary importance because of the large number of "anonymous" texts.

conventional functions, also serve as a surrogate for, and preceding stage of, a comprehensive literary history.[9]

3.2 The functionality of the three primary access points (title, name and subject classification) depends on the exactness with which they respond to the search terms employed by the user of the catalogue. The response rate is considerably enhanced by vocabulary control, namely rigid standardization of titles, names and subject terms, augmented by authority records uniting all known forms of names (and titles) under one standardized heading.

3.2.1 In order to illustrate the demand for vocabulary control, I have chosen as an example an incomplete Sanskrit manuscript deposited in the Göttingen library.[10] The recently published catalogue[11] gives the title, *Saṃkṣepaśaṃkarajaya* ("Brief Exposition of Śaṃkara's Victory"), as it is found in the manuscript itself. There seems to be an alternative form, viz., *Saṃkṣiptaśaṃkaravijaya* ("Abridged Exposition of Śaṃkara's Conquest"),[12] and the text is also known—and has in fact been published[13]—under the title *Śaṃkaradigvijaya* ("Śaṃkara's Conquest of the World"),[14] which it shares with another text, the *Śaṃkaradigvijaya* by one Anantānandagiri (see next section).[15] There are no less than four other texts bearing variations of the title *Śaṃkara(dig)vijaya*.

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[9] That some recently published catalogues contribute virtually nothing in this respect is the direct consequence of a fatal tendency to reduce cataloguing to an undiscerning, formalistic volume production governed by the stopwatch of a timekeeper, whose *alter ego*, ironically, may lament over the stupefying influence of computer technology.

[10] Göttingen call number: COD MS SANSCR MADH 141. For documentation of the following example see www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene_1/fiindolo/hsskat.htm.

[11] Gerhard Ehlers, *Indische Handschriften, Teil 12 : Die Sammlung der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, II,12 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 164, no. 4599. The catalogue entry is confined to a formal description, brief passages taken from the beginning and end of the manuscript (*incipit* and *explicit*), and references to descriptions of two other manuscripts (catalogued as (1.) no. 386 in vol. II,1 of the *VOHD*, and (2.) no. 12174 of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*, [vols. 20-21, *Kāvya*, Madras 1918]).

[12] See M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974 [reprint]), 322, note.

[13] (1.) *Śrī-Vidyāraṇya-viracitaḥ Śrīmac-Chaṃkaradigvijayaḥ*, [ed.] Babasastri Phadake, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, 22, (Poona: 1891); (2.) *Srimad Sankara Digvijaya* / by Vidyaranya, Engl. transl. by K. Padmanaban. 2 vols. (Madras / Silverspring (MD): Padmanaban, 1985, 2 vols. (As a rule, the *VOHD* volumes relating to South Asian manuscripts do not mention printed editions of texts.)

[14] This title seems to have been derived from that of a commentary (not contained in the Göttingen MS.) written by Dhanapatisūri in 1799, which is sometimes given as *Śamkara-* [or *Śaṅkara-*]*digvijayadiṇḍima*; see, for example, *Catalogue of the India Office Library*, Vol. II,1, *Sanskrit Books*, pt. IV (London : HM Stationery Office 1957), 2308f.

[15] *The Sankara-Vijaya, or the Life and Polemics of Sankara Acharyya* = *Śaṃkaravijayaḥ* / Anandagiri, edited by Jayanarayana Tarkapanchanana, Bibliotheca Indica, 46 (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, [1864-] 1868).

No doubt, the cataloguer's preference for *Saṃkṣepaśaṃkarajaya* is fully justified in view of the evidence provided by the manuscript in question. Nevertheless, a reference to the alternative title under which the text is published would not have been out of place. Instead, he offers an uncommented reference to the description of a manuscript of a different text, viz. Anantānanda's *Śaṃkaradigvijaya* (*VOHD* II,1, no. 386), thus complicating things further and exposing unprepared users to a confusing assortment of data few of them will be able to disentangle without the help of tools that are by no means widely available (see section 4.2).

3.2.2 As in the title of the work, the cataloguer follows the manuscript in giving the author's name as "Mādhava," without further comment. Having, with any luck, picked Mādhavācārya Vidyāraṇya (14th cent.) of Śṛṅgeri, an eminent exponent of the Advaita branch of Vedānta philosophy, as the obvious candidate among the legion of Mādhavas that made a name in Sanskrit literature, users may easily have second thoughts if they follow the reference to *VOHD* II,1, no. 386, an entry describing a manuscript of the *Śaṃkaradigvijaya* by one Anantānandagiri, who claims to be a direct disciple of Śaṃkara (8th to 9th cent.), although internal evidence seems to suggest that the text was written several centuries later.[16] According to the notes to entry no. 386, the author's name is also given as Ānandatīrtha, Ānandajñāna, Ānandajñānagiri, Jñānānanda, Jñānānandagiri, Madhva, and—Mādhava. The most reasonable explanation for this omnium-gatherum of names seems to me that the last component of Anantānandagiri's name, -ānandagiri, led to the identification with the Advaita author Ānandagiri (13th cent.), also known as Ānandajñāna, Ānandajñānagiri etc., a prolific sub-commentator of Śaṃkara's commentaries. As far as I know, however, there is no evidence that he is identical with Anantānandagiri, the author of the *Śaṃkaradigvijaya*. This supposed identification then led to the not infrequent confusion of "Ānandagiri" with "Ānandatīrtha", an epithet of Madhva (1238-1317), founder of the Dvaita branch of Vedānta philosophy, and thus a most unlikely candidate for authorship of the Advaita text in question. Then the notes place Madhva side by side with Mādhava as the author of the *Śaṃkaradigvijaya*, giving *Saṃkṣepaśaṃkarajaya* as an alternative title,[17] and, as the crowning touch, hint at other works with similar titles, among them a "Śaṃkaradigvijaya by Vidyāraṇya"[18]—which brings the user full circle back to the Göttingen manuscript, though not the wiser.

3.2.3 Contrary to the description of the Göttingen manuscript in *VOHD* II,12, the systematic arrangement of entries according to subjects in *VOHD* II,1 gives a clue as to the contents of the manuscript[19]: Anantānandagiri's *Śaṃkaravijaya*, classified under "Biography," is a panegyric poem in praise of the Vedānta philosopher Śaṃkara. Actually, no less than ten titles of such legendary biographies eulogizing Śaṃkara by as many authors are known,[20] and evidently the text of the Göttingen manuscript also belongs to this category.

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[16] See K. T. Telang, "The Śankaravijaya of Ânandagiri", *Indian Antiquary* 5 (1876): 287ff.

[17] With reference to the *Catalogue of the India Office Library* (see fn. 14).

[18] There is not a hint of the fact that "Vidyāraṇya" is an epithet of Mādhava.

[19] Since the systematic arrangement is given up in *VOHD* II,12, the only way to find out the subject would be to search the entire subject index (pp. 235-237) for the entry number of the manuscript (#4599). On this shortcoming cf. my review, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 93 (1998): 235-241.

3.3 The above example shows that cataloguing of manuscripts is no exception to cataloguing in general in that it requires rigid vocabulary control, especially with regard to the two most important access points, title and name. In a printed catalogue like the *VOHD* this would involve a considerable amount of cross-referencing within each individual volume as well as within the catalogue as a whole—and is therefore seldom realized.[21]

And the demand for integration goes far beyond the scope of ongoing projects. Contemporary manuscript cataloguing always has to be seen in a continuum. For example, *VOHD*, vol. II,12, describing hitherto uncatalogued parts of the Göttingen manuscript collection, is embedded in the context of various earlier catalogues describing other parts of that collection (published between 1894 and 1930), and of a random selection of descriptions scattered over *VOHD*, vols. II,1, 2, 4—9.[22] However, this aspect of integration is usually neglected, much to the disadvantage of the respective catalogue, of the collection as a whole, and particularly of its users, who all too often are kept in the dark about the wider context.[23]

On the level of the individual library, the vocabulary applied in manuscript cataloguing has to be harmonized with that used in the cataloguing of other types of documents, in order to secure a standardized access to *all* catalogue records of that library relating to a given item, such as a text, be it in the physical form of a manuscript, a printed edition, a digital text file, a study of the text and perhaps even an audio-book, or a video cassette of a dramatic performance. On the next level, vocabulary control should be extended to union catalogues comprising several libraries.[24]

4 In order to achieve these objectives, several preconditions have to be met. Considering the task outlined above, and considering also that manuscript cataloguing is a dynamic, cumulative process, it should be quite clear that storing catalogue records in a database open to future refinement is a far more adequate approach than enshrining them in a printed

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[20] See Krishnamachariar, loc. cit. (as in fn. 12); as the example of "Guruvijaya" by "Anantānandagiri" suggests ('Guru-' clearly standing for 'Śaṃkara-'), some of these titles and names may just be alternative forms of those listed above.

[21] How far this requirement is met by the *VOHD*, vol. II, can easily be found out by looking up the alternative titles and names given above in the indices of the respective volumes, and in the *Generalregister, VOHD* II,10-11. The question takes on an altogether different complexion if we include other cataloguing projects within the *VOHD* dealing with Sanskrit manuscripts.

[22] For a list of partial catalogues already published, and of the still uncatalogued parts of the Göttingen collection see www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene_1/fiindolo/indhss_.htm.

[23] *VOHD*, vol. II,12, does not even mention earlier catalogues (see my review [as in fn. 19], 239, n. 7).

[24] This may be an actual union catalogue such as that of the Gemeinsamer Bibliotheks-Verbund (GBV; see www.gbv.de), a Göttingen-based library network incorporating the catalogues of seven German federal states, or a virtual union catalogue like the Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog (KVK; see www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de/kvk.html), which temporarily connects a wide range of actual union catalogues for a simultaneous search. (One may, for instance, search the KVK for the alternative titles and names treated in the previous section.)

volume. Database cataloguing warrants a maximum of internal consistency with a minimum of effort for all sides concerned.

4.1 Technical requirements of basic manuscript cataloguing on a database platform are met by readily available cataloguing software,[25] as an ongoing project shows, in which all manuscripts in South Asian languages deposited in the Göttingen library are being integrated into the general retrieval system.[26] Apart from categories of formal description, such as material, number of folios, size and script, the project includes vocabulary-controlled recording of titles and names as well as subject classification.

For instance, the database record of the above-mentioned manuscript[27] has *Saṃkṣepaśaṃkarajaya* as the uniform title applying to all related items, but it also allows retrieval under the alternative title used in the printed editions, *Śaṃkaradigvijaya*, and vice versa.[28] Likewise, all alternative forms of the author's name, documented in any bibliographic unit (manuscript, printed edition, secondary literature etc.), or likely to be helpful in retrieval, are pulled together under the standardized heading of an authority record. The authority record uniting 'Mādhava ācārya', 'Mādhavācārya', 'Madhavacharya', 'Mādhava Vidyāraṇya', 'Vidyāraṇya' etc. under the heading 'Mādhava', links all catalogue entries relating to works of Mādhava. No matter which of these alternative names is entered as a search string, the Online Public-Access Catalogue (OPAC) will retrieve all catalogue records linked up with this authority record, among them the one describing the manuscript of the *Saṃkṣepaśaṃkarajaya*. Furthermore, the catalogue record includes four vocabulary-controlled elements of subject classification,[29] and four corresponding elements of (local) systematic subject classification,[30] all of which are fully retrievable.[31]

In accordance with my above proposal, the manuscript descriptions integrated into the Göttingen OPAC are confined to essentials, although, technically, they can be extended to embrace all aspects of printed manuscript catalogues, including *incipit* and *explicit*, scribal remarks etc. In fact, the technical possibilities of database cataloguing go far beyond that. As can be seen in the online display of the above catalogue record, they include the integration of specimina (e.g. facsimiles of the first and last folio of a manuscript) by adding a hyperlink from the catalogue record to electronic image files.[32]

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[25] In fact, any general purpose database software, or the database module of a word processing programme, is suitable for structured cataloguing, and allows future upgrading and export of data to other structures.

[26] For a progress report see www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene_1/fiindolo/indhss_.htm.

[27] For a hyperlink to the catalogue record of the Saṃkṣepaśaṃkarajaya see www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene_1/fiindolo/hsskat.htm.

[28] Alternatively, vocabulary control may be established by means of authority records for titles; see below for names.

[29] Viz., 'Hindu philosophy' / 'Advaita-Vedānta' / 'Śaṃkara' / 'hagiography'.

[30] For information on the Göttingen Online-Klassifikation (GOK) see www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene_1/fiindolo/indgok_.htm.

[31] On the administrative level the system also provides a fully integrated (local) ordering system; cf. also the experimental ordering system of the Wellcome Institute collection of South Asian manuscripts: www.ucl.ac.uk/~ucgadkw/wihm-vol1.html

4.2 As for other requirements, it should be noted that all contemporary manuscript cataloguing relies heavily on the achievements of an impressive line of printed catalogues published since the second half of the 19th century. Especially the multi-volume catalogues of the major Indian collections, rivalled by none outside the subcontinent, are of invaluable help in determining standard titles and names, and perhaps even more so in disclosing the contents of the manuscript / text in hand.[33]

4.2.1 The practical problem facing both cataloguers and users is to keep track of the large number of individual catalogues. Theodor Aufrecht was the first to realize the need of a comprehensive reference tool. In order to facilitate access to the wealth of information scattered over a multitude of catalogues, he single-handedly compiled the tripartite *Catalogus Catalogorum*,[34] a combined list of Sanskrit[35] titles and names recording all entries pertinent to a given text in all catalogues available to him. In view of the central importance of such a reference tool, which can also make a vital contribution to vocabulary-controlled name and title access, it is all the more deplorable that the publication of its projected successor, the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*,[36] seems to have come to an untimely halt.[37]

4.2.2 A perhaps even more serious problem is that many of the older catalogues are long out of print and generally unavailable for consultation, except in a very few libraries. Thus, the individual library aiming at integrated manuscript cataloguing has the choice between either converting all data from the printed catalogues describing (parts of) its collection to database records, or else providing other means of access to these data for both local and external users. Retrospective manuscript cataloguing in Göttingen combines these two approaches: as described above, the essential data are being converted from printed catalogue to database

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[32] These electronic facsimiles are mainly intended to facilitate orientation for users; a digital manuscript library, although technically possible, is not intended (see fn. 5).

[33] For instance, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manu-*
scripts Library, Madras, vols. 1-34 (Madras: Government Press, 1901—1961), and *A Triennial Catalogue*
of Manuscripts . . . for the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, vols. 1-13 in 46 parts
(Madras: Government Press, 1913-1961), to name but two catalogues of outstanding importance, without which
modern catalogues like the *VOHD* are virtually unthinkable.

[34] Theodor Aufrecht: *Catalogus Catalogorum : An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit Works and Authors* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1891-1903 [reprint: Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1962]).

[35] Unfortunately there is no such tool available for manuscripts in other South Asian languages.

[36] V. Raghavan [et al.], *New Catalogus Catalogorum : An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors* (Madras: University of Madras, 1949/1966-) (13 volumes so far).

[37] Calculated on the basis of Aufrecht's tripartite *Catalogus Catalogorum*, the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*
has covered around 43 per cent of its ground in the 34 years since the publication of vol. 2 in 1966 (not taking into
account the first edition of vol. 1 in 1949, replaced by a 2nd ed. in 1969). If it is continued at the same speed, it
could take another 45 years until at least some of us would see its completion, but considering that the last volume
was published in 1991, this seems a very optimistic estimate. Whatever the reason for this delay, the project deserves
all the attention and help needed to overcome it.

(including a reference to the printed description), and, in addition, the older catalogues are made available on the Internet in digital facsimiles.[38]

I would consider it a substantial improvement for everyone occupied with manuscripts if the data of the major manuscript collections could be made available in a manner suitable to the above requirements. This would not only facilitate access to vital information, but also stimulate interest in the rich tradition of South Asian manuscripts.

5 The NGMPP has a substantial contribution to make in all respects. The awaited publication of the title-list will give a comprehensive impression of the wealth of the collection as a whole—something an OPAC cannot adequately convey within the confines of one screenful of information at a time.[39] What an electronic catalogue can provide, much better than any other medium, is multidimensional access to an abundance of catalogue data for both local and external users—and other cataloguers. It holds out the further prospect of linking the NGMPP data with other databases in a virtual union catalogue of South Asian manuscripts that should be open to contributions from all sides.

The example of the NGMPP shows that the preservation of South Asia's manuscript tradition as an important pillar of cultural identity is most effective when undertaken in a coordinated effort. I hope the NGMPP will be a lasting inspiration for further efforts in this direction.

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[38] Digital facsimiles of the older Göttingen catalogues can be accessed from www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene_1/fiindolo/indhss_.htm.

[39] Oddy (as in fn. 1), 34-36.

Two Recent Documents from Nepal

BERNHARD KÖLVER AND MAHES RAJ PANT

Recently we had the good fortune to come across two interesting Nepalese documents, both from East Nepal—the first from the district formerly called Pūrva No. 2, and the second from a place named Bhuji.

We proceed to give their texts and a translation of them. Both of them are well worth noting, if only because of their contents: The first case is one where someone commits an offence against the rules of proper behaviour. It is a question of a Brahmin woman having eaten food not proper to her station. The second case deals with re-admission of persons into their caste after accepting water in Darjeeling from the local people and puffing tobacco there in the bazaar—a grievous offence against proper caste rules.

As India was ruled by non-Hindus for centuries, the Nepalese started treating it as a country fallen from Hindu ideals and regarding their own land as the only one to have remained pure in the whole of the subcontinent.[1] There is even a sentence by Pṛthvīnārāyaṇ Śāha to this effect: *yo asil hindusthānā ho* 'This is the real Hindusthān'. Muglān, 'the Moghul country', continued to be a somewhat pejorative term for India till fairly recently. Pṛthvīnārāyaṇ Śāha uses this term when reluctantly allowing a few singers and dancers from India to come to the Kathmandu Valley to perform during the festival of Holi. The very same term for India is used in the document.

External appearance

One is a finished document with all the external signs one would expect. There are the official registration and running number, plus a seal with an inscription and fees for issuing and stamping. The other is much more careless as to its general appearance: its external state is poor, the spelling shaky and at times blurred. Here and there the handwriting is obscure and it takes someone with considerable felicity in deciphering to present something like an orderly account of the contents. It is clearly stamped, and was prepared by two officials who had been sent out to enquire into a pending case, the document itself being their report to the higher authority, which accounts for its external imperfections.

Age

Both documents are not so very old, coming from the beginning of the 20th century. They are remarkable in that they show that the traditional legal system was still in operation four generations ago. The questions dealt with both belong to the traditional patterns of proper behaviour.

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[1] The following poem by Motiram Bhatta (1866–1896) echoes the same feeling:

yavanle rāj gardā kati patita hindusthala bhayo
phagat yo nepālko muluka baci kañcan rahi gayo /

Administration

This follows the usual routine. The first document is issued by, and presumably for, the official named *ḍiṭṭhā*, which is the Sanskrit *draṣṭā* 'judge'. The second is issued jointly by an *amālī* 'head of a village council', and a *ṭhekedār* 'contractor'.

Provenance

This is not a problem. The first document comes from Pūrva No. 2, reasonably accessible, Cautārā, its administrative capital, being where the court of the district was located. The second was issued in Bhuji, which lies in the district of Rāmechāp on the right bank of the Likhu Kholā.

No.1
NGMPP Reel No. E 702/7

Text

[Centrally affixed stamp in the upper margin:] nambara 294

śrī

[seal to the left side of the margin:]
1. nagada vā jiṃṣi 1 rupaiṃyādeṣī māthī pāca rupaiyāsamma tirne kāṃ |
2. juna calani bujhnuparcha usai calanikā linu dinu
3. ęka paisā s |

[stamp to the left side of the text with the sun between two crossed kukris] legend: śrī adālat

1. svasti śrī purva 2 nambara adālatkasye
   patram——————————————————
2. āge dāṣīlā āṃdānī saibu basne devamāyā bāhunīke jānukā nevāranīle pi -
3. ṭhāle ṭālī usineko gīṭhā thāhā napāī coṣaī usīneko holā bhanī bhora parī ṣā-
4. yābāpat bhorako patiyāpurjī bhai jādā avalakā darale dastura mo ru 2 yasai rī-
5. phaṭko dasturā udāsmet jmā ru 2 s | duī rupaīyā yaka paiso tabāṭa asula
6. bhai yasa aḍākā ḍīṭhā anīrudra upretījīmmā tahabīla dāṣīla bhayo tasko
7. rasīda gari dīñā 58 sāla bhārddraṣudī 1 roja 6
   śubhaṃ——————————————

[seal:] śrī anīrudra 57

Translation

Number 294

When one goes to pay in cash or kind [a sum] worth more than 1 rupee and up to five rupees, a ledger fee of one rupee is to be levied on first-class payments in cash.

The Venerable Court.

Letter from the Venerable Court of East No. 2 on the entry of income.
To Devamāyā, a Brahmin woman living in Saibu.

As you did not know beforehand that the Newar woman Jānukā covered the *Discoria sativa* (=a kind of plant, the root of which is chiefly eaten by members of the Magar tribe of Nepal) with flour and steamed it: you mistakenly ate it, thinking it steamed in a pure way. Wherefore a note was sent to you for your absolution from a state of unwitting contamination. A fee of Rs. 2 together with the report fee, in sum total of Rs. 2 and paisā 1, is collected from you at a first-class rate.[2] This sum is entered in the account under the responsibility of Aniruddha Upretī, *ḍiṭṭhā* of this office. I hereby issue a receipt for it.
Friday, 1st of the bright fortnight of Bhādra, the year [19]58 (September 13, 1901). [Let it be] auspicious.

No.2
NGMPP Reel No. E 702/8

Text

[Stamp to the left side of text:] indistinct

Dharmadhikāra[3]

1. svasti śrī bhujiko amālī ṭhekadārakasyā yesatarphakā rakamī———ke purji uprāṃnta so
2. bhujīkā mājagāu basnyā[4] bājabira sunuvāra 1 rājabira sunuvāra 1 hastabira sunuvāra 1 bhimarāja sunivāra 1 sme-
3. ta janā 4 60 sālamā āphnā mānīsa bheṭnā nimitta muṃlaṃ dorjelīṃ jagā gai basi so muṃlānīyā saṃsargi pā-

---

[2] This refers to the usual system of grading, consisting of four classes, *abbal*, *doyam*, *sim* and *cāhār*.

[3] This document follows the common practice of mentioning persons of high rank at the head of a text for mental insertion wherever a dash occurs in the body of it.

[4] Two letters added in an interlinear margin above the word *basnyā* are not clear.

4. nī ra bajārako sarke tamāṣu ṣāī chātachuta bhai āphnā nittyākaramamā rahi ājakāla ghara āyāko hunālyā
5. ra nija 4 janāle so muṃlānīyā saṃsargi pānīko patiyā garāi pāuṃ bhaṃnyā behorāko jāheri muculkā yesa
6. amālamā didā ra akatīyāravārisaharuko jamāṃbaṃdī muculkāsmeta li purjī gari paṭhāyako cha jastā
7. behorāko dinupranyā ho tastā behorāko nija 4 janālāī muṃlānīyā saṃsargi pānīko patiya dinyā kā-
8. ma gare besa holā samvatā 1961 sāla mitī aśvina 10 gatyā roja 1 śubhaṃ——

Translation

Hail. Note from the *amālī* ('head of the village council') and the *ṭhekedār* ('contractor') of the venerable [village of] Bhuji to the *dharmādhikār* ('religious official whose duty it is to give dispensations for breaches of caste to those who wish to be received back') who is the *rakam* ('compulsory labour obligation in lieu of land or homestead') authority of this region.

Four persons living in Mājgāū of the aforesaid Bhuji, namely Bājbir Sunuvār, Rājbir Sunuvār, Hastabir Sunuvār and Bhimrāj Sunuvār, went to Dorjeliṃ (Darjeeling) in Muglāṃ (Mogul country) in the year [19]60 to see their own people. While they were staying there, physical contact with the Muglān people occurred when they drank water handled by them and puffed tobacco from the bazaar.[5] [Otherwise] they remained true to their [other] daily rites. These four persons are now back home and have submitted an official statement to this *amāl* ('village council') about the water handled by the Muglān people. This and an affidavit submitted by their rightful heirs are sent [to you herewith] together with a note. It would be good if you could grant whatever type of absolution you think proper to the above-mentioned four persons for their acceptance of the water handled by the Muglān people.
Sunday, Āśvin 10th, the year 1961 (September 25, 1904). [Let it be] auspicious.

Commentary

Four Sunuvārs, individually named, had gone to Darjeeling and there were led to accept water from the local people and smoke bazaar tobacco. When they came back home, they voluntarily reported their own breach of caste rules to the local authorities and asked for re-admission into their caste. The local authorities did not decide the matter themselves but forwarded the case to the higher authority in religious matters, recommending that he issue a suitable document officializing their re-admission into their caste.

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[5] The phrase *sarke tamāṣu* means the tobacco puffed directly from a chillum, i.e. receptacle, instead of using an urn containing water and a tube known as a hookah.

Traditional Nepalese law contains strict commensality rules concerning not only food and water, but also for smoking.[6] To express the act of "smoking" tobacco/cigarettes, Nepalese use the same word as for "eating": *tamākhu/curoṭ khāne* is the proper idiom. A person belonging to an upper caste is not supposed to smoke a hookah used or touched by someone of a lower caste. Upper-caste people can only accept the chillum (i.e. the receptacle)—not the whole of the hookah—from lower castes and smoke directly from it.[7]

We do not know why here, unlike the case of Document 1, the matter was not settled locally and instead was referred to the higher authority, even though the law, as noted by Höfer, entitles all these officials to issue the absolution.[8]

A striking feature of the present document is that Sunuvārs, who are clearly beyond the pale of the *varṇa* system, are seeking adherence to the rules of commensality and contact. It may be recalled that on another occasion "a delegation of the Sunwār [was] sent to Kāṭhmāṇḍu in order to obtain permission for Brahmins to settle in their area and henceforth to be allowed to perform Hinduistic rites on behalf of the Sunwār."[9]

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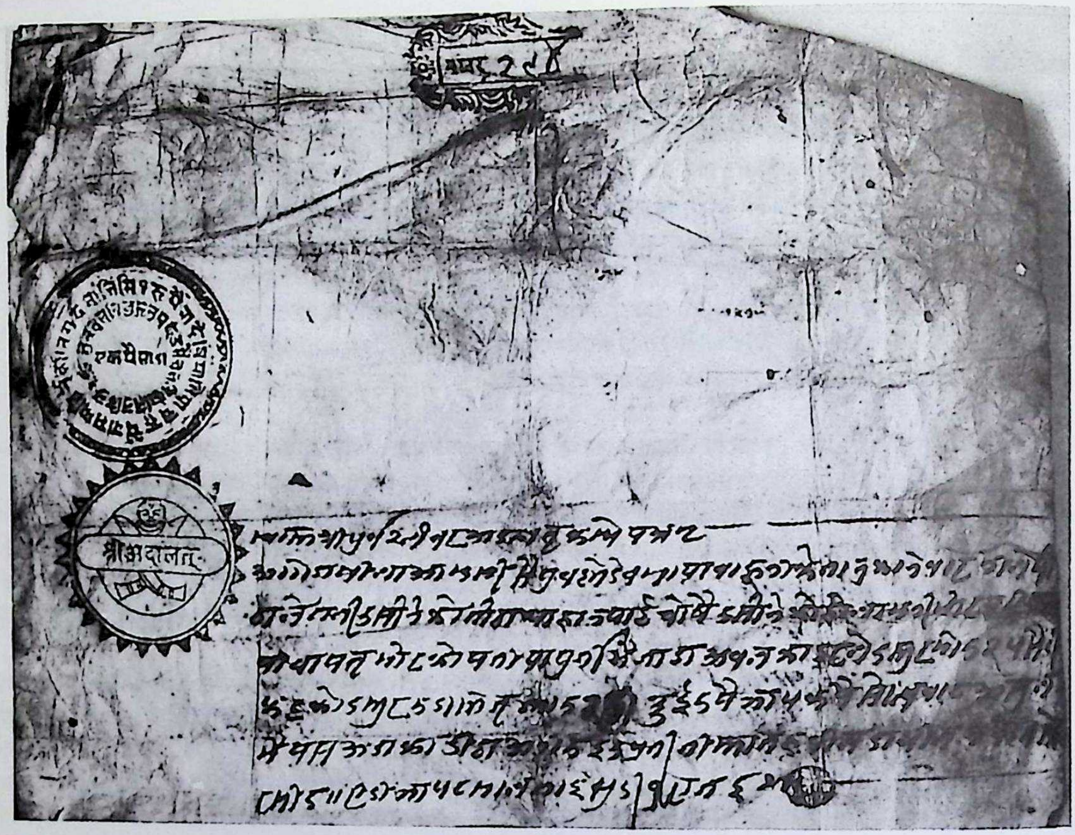
[6] András Höfer, "The Caste Hierarchy and the State of Nepal. A Study of the Muluki Ain of 1854," *Khumbu Himal*, Vol. 13/2 (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1979), 66.

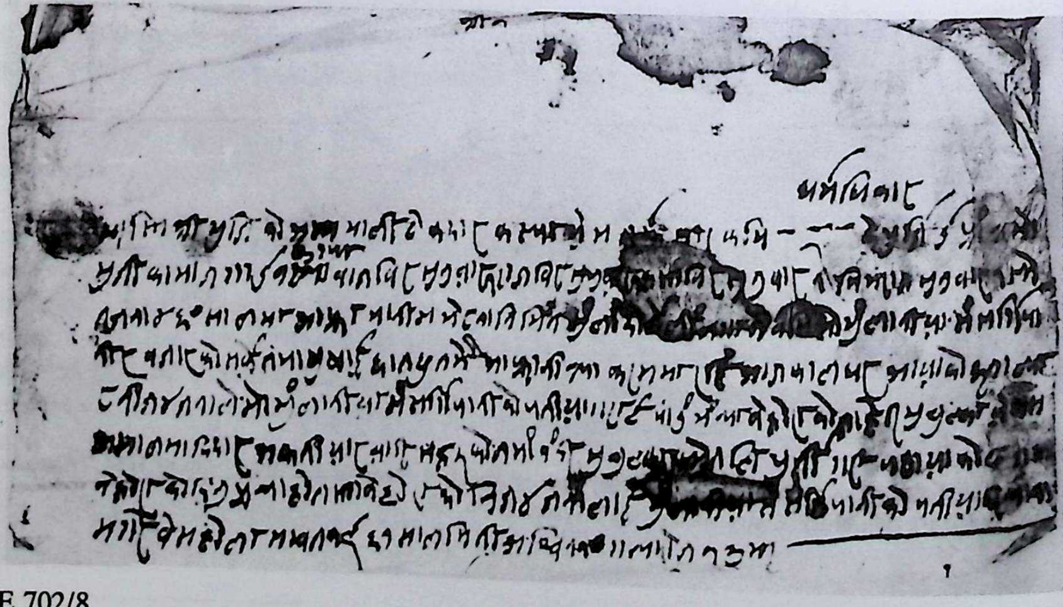
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 215f.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 173.



E 702/7
Receipt for fine: payment for restoration of caste
V.S. 1958



E 702/8
Appeal for restoration of caste status
V.S. 1961

The High Mountain Valley of Nar (Manang) in the 17th Century according to Two Tibetan Autobiographies

KLAUS-DIETER MATHES

Introduction

It has only been recently that the remote high mountain valley of Nar in Manang district opened up for tourism, thus making it possible to undertake an expedition to Nar and secure the valuable texts of this ethnically Tibetan area on microfilm. Nar is a side valley of the Marsyangdi River, stretching from Koto (2,550m), near Chame, to the north, where a very difficult, nearly 6,000m-high pass forms a natural border to the area of Legs-rtse on the Tibetan plateau. Nobody goes this way any more, and even in former days the pass seems to have been hardly used. The lamas Karma Blo-bzang (b. 1592/3?)[1] and O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho (b. 1658), for example, preferred to travel to Tibet either via sNyi-shang (Manang) and Mustang or via Gorkha, Kathmandu and sKyid-grong.

Nar is divided into "Upper Nar" (sNar-stod), a village further up the main valley, and "Lower Nar" (sNar-smad), located in a side valley to the west. Upper and Lower Nar are nowadays known as Phu Gaon (approx. 4,200m) and Nạr Gaon (approx. 4,300m) respectively. After two days of walking from Koto up the Nar valley, one reaches Gu-lung, the area around the confluence of a river coming down from Nar Gaon and the main river, Phu Khola, along which one reaches Phu Gaon after another two days of walking. The side valley to the west skirts the northern flank of Pisang Peak (6,092m) on its way to Nar Gaon, and then leads up to the Kangla pass (5,321m). Crossing this high mountain ridge used to be the preferred way to sNyi-shang in the south, the valley of the Phu Khola down to Koto being extremely steep and narrow. A further side valley to the north-west leads from Nar Gaon to two fairly easy passes into Mustang.[2] According to Lama Nyima Ngödrup from Phu Gaon, who accompanied our microfilm expedition, these passes were formerly used to bring salt from Tibet. It is hard to imagine, however, that the men from Nar got salt directly from Tibet, since they had to sell or mostly barter all their wares at the Mustang raja's palace for salt.[3]

Very little has been known till now about the history of this remote side valley. Van Spengen endorses the theory[4] that the Gurung and Ghale peoples crossed the Nar pass from Tibet into sNyi-shang and were later converted to Buddhism. It seems unlikely to me, though, that migrants from Tibet would only use this difficult pass. Lama Nyima Ngödrup gave me the following popular etymology of Nar: A few men came up the Nar valley from Gyasumdo hunting a "blue sheep" (Tib. *gna'*). In their pursuit, they jumped over a high and narrow gorge across the Phu Khola in Gu-lung, just where the bridge along the trail up to Nar Gaon is today.[5] Overlooking this strategically important gorge are the ruins of a high tower called *tsam-rdzong* ("bridge-fortress").[6] The hunters failed to catch the *gna'*, but liked the area on the other side of the river so much that they decided to settle there. The name they gave to the whole valley commemorated their adventure. Only later did *gna'* become Nar. Even though such popular etymologies have usually little historical value,[7] it could still be the case that Nar was also populated via Mustang and sNyi-shang and not only over the difficult pass from the north.

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[1] For the dating see Mathes 1999: 77.

[2] For further geographic and also ethnographic information on Nar see Gurung 1977: 229-244.

[3] See von Fürer-Haimendorf 1983: 86f.

[4] He refers to Gurung 1980: 226; see van Spengen 1987: 138.

In the 13th century, Nar must have fallen together with sNyi-shang under the jurisdiction of the Gung-thang royal dynasty.[8] During this period the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud school of Tibetan Buddhism spread into different areas of northern Nepal, including Dolpo, Mustang and Nubri,[9] and thus members of this school must have also reached this remote valley north of sNyi-shang. According to Ehrhard the presence of the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pas in sNyi-shang is already documented in the 13th century.[10] Thus it is not surprising that I could locate three volumes, in an old handwriting, of the collected works of the founder of the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud, Lama Zhang Rin-po-che (1123-1191), in Braga.[11] The famous story of Milarepa (1040-1123) converting the hunter Khyi-ra mgon-po rdo-rje at sNyi-shang 'gur-rta Cave[12] above Braga, hints at an even earlier influence in sNyi-shang of Kagyu

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[5] A similar story was also told to von Fürer-Haimendorf (1983: 90f.): the founder of Nar village, who was originally from Mustang, came to the Nar valley while pursuing a blue sheep.

[6] *Tsam* being the word in the local dialect for Tibetan *zam-pa* "bridge" (oral information from Lama Nyima Ngödrup). Von Fürer-Haimendorf (1983:66) was told that the towerlike ruin near the bridge was a gompa known as "Yung-kar-lha-chö."

[7] Cf. Schuh's (1994: 40f.) critical historical assessment of the narrative accounts on the history of southern Mustang.

[8] Jackson (1976: 45) writes that, according to Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698-1755), the Gungthang king 'Bum-lde mgon (1253-1280) founded forts in Upper, Middle and Lower Lo (Mustang), Dolpo and Manang. See also Jackson 1978: 211.

[9] See Vitali 1996: 398.

[10] Ehrhard: "Religious Geography and Literary Traditions: The Foundation of the Monastery Brag-dkar bSam-gling," p. 103 of this journal.

[11] Even though I was not allowed to preserve these precious volumes on microfilm, I had the chance to look through them. According to the colophon of volume *ā*, the latter was written by brTson-'grus grags-pa (the ordination name of Lama Zhang) in 'Tshal-rgang-gi(s) rmang ('Foundation of Tshal-rgang'), which is either Tshal (founded in 1175) or Tshal Gung-thang[a] (founded in 1187). Both monasteries were established by Lama Zhang in the vicinity of Lhasa.
[a] *rgang* could be an abbreviation for Gung-thang.

[12] Rus-pa'i rgyan-can (=gTsang-smyon Heruka): "Khyi ra ras pa dang mjal ba'i skor," in: *rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po mi la ras pa'i rnam mgur*, 430-442. In the older *Bu chen bcu gnyis* version of Milarepa's songs and biography (*rJe btsun chen po mid la ras pa'i rnam thar zab mo bzhugs so*, fol. 110b4), the cave is called "Happy Cave Sun-Fortress of sNyi-shang" (Tib. *snyi shang gi brag skyid phug*

Buddhism. The episode of Milarepa receiving offerings from the king of Bhaktapur at Bal-po lho-phyogs-kyi gnyi-shang katya Cave, which follows the Khyi-ra story in gTsang-smyon Heruka's (1452-1507) version of the Mi-la rnam-mgur,[13] has given rise to some confusion about the exact location of the sNyi-shang Cave. Thus the Sixth Zhva-dmar-pa Chos-kyi dbang-phyug (1584-1630) wrote in his *Bal yul du bgrod pa'i lam yig* (fols. 28a1-4 & 31a4-b3) that Milarepa stayed in a place of the sNyi-shang-bas north-east of Bhaktapur when he received offerings from the king. According to this *lam-yig* there had been a settlement of sNyi-shang-bas on the way from Bhaktapur to Helambu.[14] In the older *Bu chen bcu gnyis* version of Milarepa's songs and biography, which was probably written by Bodhirāja (a disciple of Milarepa), the story involving the king of Bhaktapur[15] occurs 13 folios and a few stories before the episode of the hunter at sNyi-shang-gi brag skyid-phug nyi-ma'i rdzong[16] (= sNyi-shang 'gur-rta Cave in gTsang-smyon's version). Moreover, it makes no reference to sNyi-shang at all: the cave in Bhaktapur is called Bal-po rkong-pa-te, and no hunters bother Milarepa there.[17] The same contents and location of the Bhakatpur story is also found in Rang-byung rdo-rje's (1284-1339) *mDzod nag ma.*[18] It is interesting to note that in the *mDzod nag ma* there are two alternative Khyi-ra mgon-po rdo-rje stories.[19] While the first story describes the location of the cave to be somewhere lower down than and south of rTsib-ri (which fits "north-east of Bhaktapur" pretty well) the second version is in accordance with the description in the *Bu chen bcu gnyis*. To be sure, according to the oldest version of Milarepa's life and songs, the *Bu chen bcu gnyis*, there is no reason to locate the "sNyi-shang" Cave elsewhere than north of the Annapurna range in "sNyi-shang."

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nyi ma'i rdzong). It is a most accurate name of the sacred site in Manang: the cave is located in the middle of a high rock wall and receives sunlight already in the early morning.

[13] Rus-pa'i rgyan-can: "Kho khom rgyal pos mchod cing tshe ring mas glags blta phyir myul ba'i skor," in: *ibid*., pp. 442-451.

[14] Cf. Ehrhard 1997: 132 & 134.

[15] Bodhirāja (?): *rJe btsun chen po mid la ras pa'i rnam thar zab mo bzhugs so*, fols. 95b6-97b6.

[16] *Ibid*., fols. 110b3-114b3.

[17] In gTsang-smyon Heruka's version this short Bhaktapur story is included nearly *verbatim* (except for the name of the cave) in a much longer story which starts with a repetition of the hunter topos in an exaggerated form: several hunters, not one, unsuccessfully try to kill Milarepa not only by shooting him, but in other ways as well. At some point gTsang-smyon Heruka must have felt it necessary that the most important event in Milarepa's career as a yogi, i.e. the conversion of a dangerous hunter who tried to kill him, be combined with the scarcely less important Bhaktapur story. To make the different stories fit, the name of the Bhaktapur cave had to be changed.

[18] Third Karmapa Rang-byung rdo-rje: *rNal 'byor kyi dbang phyug mi la bzhad pa rdo rje'i gsung mgur mdzod nag ma*, Vol. 1, pp. 447-52.

[19] *Ibid*., Vol. 1, p. 518 – Vol. 2, p. 26.

By the end of the 15th century Gung-thang's power had declined, and sNyi-shang became a tribute-paying area of the principality of Mustang.[20] From the autobiography of O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho (b. 1658) we know that Nar was forced to pay tribute to Mustang at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century (see below). According to Schuh (1992:68) a treaty between Mustang and Parbat from 1705 strongly indicates that Mustang came under subjection to Jumla under the Jumla king Vīrabahādur Śāhi (ca. 1635-1665). Jackson (1978: 220) informs us that in 1652 the army of the Jumla king came to Mustang in support of a minister of Mustang and killed many men. The soldiers of Jumla stayed very long and taxes became very heavy.[21] Oral tradition in Nar has it that dGon-pa rdzong in Phu Gaon was once unsuccessfully besieged by troops of the king of Jumla just before the time of Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho.[22] According to the informants of von Fürer-Haimendorf (1983:65-6), warriors of the Jumla king once destroyed Metta (sMe-rtsegs), which is one hour south of Tsam-rdzong, and killed most of its inhabitants. Lama Khamsum of Pisang told me that one of the Ghale kings of sNyi-shang, who had their seat near Nawal, once joined forces with the king of Lamjung to successfully fight off an attack by the troops of Jumla. Local tradition in the sNyi-shang valley has it further that Ghale Durbar near Nawal was finally destroyed well before the time of Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa, but after the time of Karma Blo-bzang, if the story can be believed that the latter's disciple and abbot of Braga monastery, Karma dBang-rgyal, was the second son of the Ghale king Mig-dmar-can.[23]

Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho's autobiography provides the important information that Kagbeni in the southern part of Mustang was visited by tribute collectors from Jumla in 1699 or at the latest 1700 (see below). This shows that Jumla's power over Mustang must have been very strong, at least in its southern part, Baragaon. In 1789 the latter came under the jurisdiction of the Gorkha rulers, and Nar was given as a free estate (*birtā*) to the *dpon-po* of Dzar, Ṭopāl Biṣṭa.[24] Moreover, in 1790 the Gorkha king ordered that the districts of Nar and

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[20] Jackson 1976: 39.

[21] See also bsTan-'dzin ras-pa: *rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug rje btsun bstan 'dzin ras pa'i rnam thar mdzad pa nyung du gcig bzhugs so*, 3a2-3b1.

[22] Oral communication of Lama Nyima Ngödrup (Nawal), who told me the story while showing me a terrifying *guru drag dmar* mask. The lama said that it was only by displaying this mask that the troops from Jumla gave up. The common trick of visibly washing one's hair with oil to demonstrate that there was still enough water in the fortress did not work.

[23] This Ghale king long had no sons and turned to Karma Blo-bzang for help. Having patronized and received the latter's blessing, he obtained three sons. Out of gratitude he dedicated his second son to Braga Gompa. Lama Khamsum of Pisang, who is a descendant of Karma dBang-rgyal, knows an alternative version of this narrative in which the Ghale king asked the lama of g.Yag-ru (a village between Nawal and Pisang) for help. In the biography of Karma Blo-bzang, Karma dBang-rgyal is mentioned as the lama of Braga who was entrusted by Karma Blo-bzang with supervising the furnishing of the new gompa (see Karma Blo-bzang: *mKhas grub chen po karma blo bzang gi rnam thar mchod sprin rgya mtsho*, 63b2 and 68b1, NGMPP Reel No. L 1013/1).

[24] As can be seen from two documents issued by the Gorkha king Raṇabahādūra Śāha (1778-1799) in 1790 and 1792. They are both addressed to Ṭopāl Biṣṭa of Jharkot, who is given the districts of Baragaon, Nar and Manang as a free estate (see Schuh 1994:43-4).

Manang continue to pay tribute to Mustang.[25] It is doubtful, however, if this tribute could be levied for a long time. According to some revenue receipts in the Nepali language which I recently discovered in Nawal (sNyi-shang), the Manangi households rather had to pay tax to the revenue office (*tahabīl*) at Thapathali (Kathmandu) in 1866 (Vikramsamvat 1923)[26] and to the *tahabīl* in Narayanhiti (Kathmandu) in 1899 (Vikramsamvat 1956).[27]

Unfortunately I did not find any historical documents in Nar, the only available sources of information being two autobiographies from the 17th century and the oral accounts of Lama Nyima Ngödrup, who accompanied our expedition from Nawal over the Kangla pass to Nar Gaon and Phu Gaon. Even though Nyima Ngödrup is living nowadays in Nawal for most of the year, he is still the head of Sems-khrid gling Monastery in Phu Gaon. The monastery was founded by his ancestor Lama rGyal-bde chos-lags, who came from Tibet to Phu Gaon. Lama Nyima Ngödrup told me from memory the following "family lineage" (*gdung rgyud*) of lamas holding the seat of Sems-khrid gling:

rGyal-bde chos-lags
|
Ting-'dzin don-grub
|
bsTan-'dzin rdo-rje
|
Phur-pa bstan-'dzin
|
Hri-dar tshe-ring
|
Bla-ma Pa-sangs
|
Bla-ma Chos-bzang
|
Bla-ma Nyi-ma dNgos-grub (the present abbot)

From the autobiography of O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho (see below) we know that Lama Ting-'dzin don-grub instructed the young Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho in reading and writing, and this must have been in the 1660s. The arrival of the founder and first head lama of Sems-khrid gling, rGyal-bde chos-lags, must thus be placed at the beginning of the 17th century.

The most important finds of our recent NGMPP microfilm expedition to Nawal and Phu Gaon were two autobiographies of the Tibetan Buddhist saints Karma Blo-bzang and O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho. While the former, originally from Central Tibet, spent several years in sNyi-shang and sNar-smad, the latter was born and brought up in Phu Gaon. Both, Karma

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[25] Pant & Pierce 1989: 21, 25.

[26] NGMPP Reel No. L 1042/16.

[27] NGMPP Reel No. L 1042/11.

Blo-bzang and O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho, provide not only valuable information on Nar but also on other regions of Nepal, including the Kathmandu Valley.

The Autobiography of Karma Blo-bzang

Karma Blo-bzang, a famous lama of the Kaṃ-tshang bKa'-brgyud school, composed his biography at the age of 73 upon the request of his Dolpo monastery gSang-sngags chos-gling, the people of Nar and his close friend Chos-'phel.[28] His "main teachers" (*rtsa ba'i bla ma*) were Grub-mchog dbang-po (1563-1618)[29] and the Sixth Zhva-dmar-pa Chos-kyi dbang-phyug.[30] The latter requested him to assume the seat of the famous monastery Brag-dkar rta-so,[31] a place from where one can cross the border into Nepal and reach the valley of Tsum (Gorkha district) in only one day. But, travelling to Mustang upon an invitation, he chose the way from sKyid-grong via Kathmandu, Gorkha and sNyi-shang.[32] It was only when he had nearly reached the age of 70, however, that he first left sNyi-shang for the remote valley of Nar in search of an undisturbed place for meditation. After performing a religious ceremony in both sNar-stod and sNar-smad, he settled down to five years in retreat in a cave at a "black rock mountain" (*brag ri nag po*) near Bridge-Fortress below Nar Gaon. The place is nowadays called Sa-rdib. Karma Blo-bzang tells us that a naturally arisen *liṅga* of the god Mahādeva was clearly visible on the black rock, and that the sacred place was blessed by the Jonang master Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1507-1566).[33] According to Lama Nyima Ngödrup, the cave was just above the huge chorten which Karma Blo-bzang erected during his five years of retreat.

During his retreat, Karma Blo-bzang was visited by O-rgyan Dam-chos dpal-bzang (1617-1677), a native of southern Mustang,[34] who offered him different holy items including four hairs of Guru Rinpoche and blessed substances recovered by the treasure-finder bDud-'dul rdo-rje (1615-1672). And since further such items of both Karmapas, the Shamar and Shanag

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[28] Karma Blo-bzang: *mKhas grub chen po karma blo bzang gi rnam thar mchod sprin rgya mtsho*, 100b1-3, NGMPP Reel No. L 1013/1. It seems that Ehrhard used a similar text in his paper "Religious Geography and Literary Traditions: The Foundations of the Monastery Brag-dkar bSam-gling" (see p. 101 above).

[29] According to Brag-dkar Chos-kyi dbang-phyug (1775-1837), Grub-mchog dbang-po is a reincarnation of rGod-tshang ras-pa (*Grub pa'i gnas chen brag bkar rta so'i gnas dang gdan rabs bla ma brgyud pa'i lo rgyus*, fol. 30b1).

[30] Karma Blo-bzang: *op. cit.*, 1b3-2a3.

[31] See Brag-dkar Chos-kyi dbang-phyug: *op. cit.*, fol. 30a5ff.

[32] *Ibid.*, 50a4-b1. For an account of the events in sNyi-shang see Ehrhard: *op. cit.*

[33] For Kun-dga' grol-mchog's visit to Nar see also Jo-nang rje-btsun Kun-dga' grol-mchog: "sKal bzang dad pa'i shing rta 'dren byed," in: *The Collected Works of Palden Kunga Dolchok*, p. 453, ll. 1-3 (for this reference I am indebted to F.-K. Ehrhard).

[34] See Ehrhard 1998: 4.

(Karma pa Zhva dmar nag gnyis), reached him, he called his retreat place "Wish-fulfilling Cave" (bSam-grub phug-pa). After two years of retreat the cave partly collapsed, and Karma Blo-bzang barely escaped death. Next we are told that the "heart-son" (Tib. *thugs sras*) of rGyal-tshab Rin-po-che of Tshurphu in Central Tibet, lHa-phu sprul-sku, came to bSam-grub Cave in sNar-smad to receive what were mostly Tantric teachings and initiations from Karma Blo-bzang.[35]

Interesting is Karma Blo-bzang's explanation of why he built the huge chorten rGyal-ba kun-'dus near the confluence of the rivers of the sNar-smad and the Phu valleys: his meditation cave would become a sacred place (blessed by his realization), but the people of the wooded parts of the Nar valley did not show any sign of practising Dharma.[36] In Dolpo, on the other hand, even in the more southern parts, some 150 monks and practitioners attended Karma Blo-bzang's teachings regularly—at Bar-bong, for example—and during initiations (Cakra-saṃvara etc.) innumerable disciples were on hand. Even lay practitioners diligently followed his instructions when travelling or during the daily work in the fields.[37] By contrast, the inhabitants of the lower parts of Nar must have still adhered to non-Buddhist shamanic practices at this time, as many Gurungs of the Gyasumdo area, which is located in the lower part of the Marsyandi valley, still do today.[38]

In the wood-dragon year (1664), Karma Blo-bzang invited Zhabs-drung bKa'-brgyud sgron-ma to consecrate the shrine room of Brag-dkar Monastery. Already too old to cross the pass into sNyi-shang, Karma Blo-bzang requested Zhabs-drung bKa'-brgyud sgron-ma to visit him in Nar. A place to receive bKa'-brgyud sgron-ma was prepared in Nar, and Karma Blo-bzang gave him a huge amount of money with the request to renovate the wall paintings in their common main seat Ras-chung phug in the Yar-lung valley.[39] Moreover, Karma Blo-bzang made various offerings to his own monks and to every lama of Nar who was present. On fourteen consecutive days Karma Blo-bzang gave initiations, explanations and oral transmissions (*lung*). At the *maṇḍala* offering of each initiation bKa'-brgyud sgron-ma generously offered gold, a *mālā* made of corals and precious stones which Karma Blo-bzang all returned except the silks. Being requested by Karma Blo-bzang to assume responsibility for the teaching of the Kagyu Rinpoches and Ras-chung phug, Zhabs-drung bKa'-brgyud sgron-ma returned again via Mustang to Central Tibet. Here the manuscript ends and we are told that Karma Blo-bzang composed his biography in Wish-fulfilling Cave in Nar when he was 73 years old.[40]

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[35] *Ibid.*, 95b4-96 *'og ma* b2.

[36] "After I had stayed five years in this cave, signs of virtue occurred. During that time, however, [the inhabitants of] the wooded valley of Nar did not show any inclination towards the Dharma. Since they would live in sin forever, I thought that if I erected a chorten at this crossroads, it would benefit the well-being of those living in the land of Nar, and [so] gave orders [to construct a chorten] from inside the retreat." *phug pa 'dir lo lnga bsdad (text: sdad) nas (text: na) dge ba'i rtags mtshan byung bas / de bar snar (text: rnar) shing rong chos kyi snang ba ye med cing/ sdig pas dus mda' bas / sa'i mdud 'dir mchod rten zhig bzhengs na / snar (text: rnar) lung pa'i bde skyid la phan bsams nas / mtshams nang nas zhal bkod byas / . . . (ibid.*, 97a2-4).

[37] "About 150 monks and practitioners, and on many occasions thousands of men and women, gathered at the place where one could listen to the Dharma (i.e., in gSang-sngags chos-gling in Bar-bong). And those who came together at the time of initiation were countless. [. . .] I explained, as a path leading to liberation, the *mahāmudrā* of the four letters, of simultaneous arising and merging and the "one with the five parts" (*lnga ldan*) separately without mixing them. All men and women developed great respect for the Dharma. Thus they became very diligent in meditation practice and cultivated mindfulness without distraction even while walking along paths or working in the fields. After each row (lit.: "at the beginning and the end of a row") they stopped ploughing and sat meditating [for a while]." *chos nyan sa dge 'dun sgom chen brgya phrag phyed dang gnyis tsam dang / skye bud med mang dus stong tsho tshogs pa byung / dbang gi dus ni de yang mi tshad pa 'dzom nas ... grol byed kyi lam la phyag rgya chen po yi ge bzhi pa lhan cig skyes sbyor lnga ldan rnams ma 'dres so sor bshad / skyes bud med thams cad chos la mos gus lhag par che bas sgom pa la brtson pa snying rus che ba / lam du 'gro ba dang / zhing smos byed dus kyang dran pa yengs med byas pa / rol mgo rol 'jug (=mjug) tu'ang thong gzhol 'dzin 'phro la bor nas mnyams gzhag la bsdad pa / (Ibid.*, 75b1-3, 76b2-5).

[38] For an interesting study of the cultural dialogue between Tibetan village Lamaism and its shamanic rivals in Gyasumdo see Mumford 1990.

The Autobiography of O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho[41]

It was in Sems-khrid gling in Phu Gaon that I first found an incomplete collection of twelve works by the Nyingmapa lama and Mahāsiddha O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho. As the first surviving ten chapters were enumerated starting with the letter *kha* and then *nga*, it became immediately clear that the first and the third parts of an extensive *rnam-thar* were missing. Fortunately I could locate the first part of the biography in another bundle of texts on the following day. It covers the first 39 years of the life of Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho.[42] The second part deals in detail with the events up to his 54th year.[43] The third chapter with probably the last part of Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho's life remains missing. Apart from the relatively short chapter *nga*, which contains an episode involving Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho in his mid-twenties,[44] the remaining available chapters provide little historical information on Nar. They are, however, interesting in their own right: Chapter *ta* (*gsang ba las che gsang ba*) enumerates all the different names of Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho. It is followed by a list of women, or *ḍākinī*s, who figured in his worldly and spiritual life. The next available chapter (*na*) describes the sacred places of Nepal and Tibet which Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho visited. Of particular interest is also a text on the *rtsa-lung* practice (chapter *ha*) and a separate manual for meditation in mountain retreat.

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[39] "At that time, during my five-year retreat in the *gsang-phug* (i.e., bSam-grub phug-pa, cf. *ibid.*, 95a1) in Nar, and when Zhabs-drung bKa'-brgyud sgron-ma, the reincarnation of the Omniscient Ven. Chos-rgyal rin-chen, went to see the sacred places of sTod—Mount Kailash, Chu-bar etc.—I invited [him to come] via Mustang to consecrate the shrine room of Brag-dkar in sNyi-shang. He consecrated it on the fifteenth day of the sixth month in the wood-dragon year, and immeasurable auspicious signs of good luck occurred. I, an old man, did not reach there, and [sent bKa'-brgyud sgron-ma] an invitation that he should come here [to Nar]. In the country of Nar a place to receive [the lama] was prepared and I gave him as an offering a silk scarf with 105 old *sa*, 111 Indian *ṭamka* and a little more than 50 Chinese *ṭam*, and requested him to look after the wall paintings of the great seat dPal Ras-chung phug." *de dus snar gsang phug tu lo lnga'i bcad rgyar 'dug skabs / thams cad mkhyen gzigs rje btsun chos rgyal rin chen gyi mchog sprul zhabs drung bka' brgyud (text: rgyud) sgron ma / ti se dang chu bar sogs stod kyi gnas gzigs la phebs skabs / glo bo rgyud snyi shangs brag dkar gyi lha khang gi rab gnas la spyan 'dren zhus / shing 'brug zla ba drug pa'i tshes bco lnga'i nyin rab gnas mdzad / bkra shis pa'i dge mtshan dpag med byung / de nas bdag rgan pos der mi sleb / 'dir phebs dgos / zhes spyan drangs / snar (text: rnar) yul sar dbang gzhi gting / mchod sprin du / sa rnying sgor (text: mgur) mo brgya dang lnga / rgya gar ṭam ka brgya dang bcu gcig / rgya ṭam lnga bcu lhag tsam gyi dar ras phul nas / bdan sa chen po dpal ras chung phug gi ldebs ris khur bzhes kyi gsol ba btab /* (*ibid.*, 98b2-99a2).

[40] *Ibid.*, 99a2-100b3.

[41] I have to thank Lama Tenzin Gyaltsen from Bijer Gaon for reading together with me the relevant parts of Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho's autobiography.

[42] O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho: *Bla ma u rgyan lhun grub rgya mtsho'i skyes rabs rnam thar rgyas pa*, 40 fols., NGMPP Reel No. L 977/2, in the following abbreviated by the letter *ka*.

O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho was born in sNar-stod (Phu Gaon) in an earth-dog year (1658). He was a disciple of Lama Ting-'dzin don-grub, the second head lama of Sems-khrid gling Monastery in sNar-stod (see above). While travelling in Tibet in his thirties, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho received many Nyingma teachings and initiations from such famous treasure-finders as Gar-dbang rdo-rje (1640-1685),[45] bDud-'dul gling-pa and gTer-bdag gling-pa (1646-1714).[46] The latter was among the teachers of the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Regent sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (1653-1705). But also Karma Blo-bzang, Rig-'dzin rGyal-dbang seng-ge (b. 1628) and Karma Chos-'phel must have been of some importance for Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho, since he venerates them at the beginning of his biography.[47] In the following Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho's accounts of events in Nar will be retold in some detail, because they shed some light on the everyday life of the 17th century in this remote side valley of the upper Marsyangdi.

At the beginning of his biography, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho tells us about the problems his mother, Rin-chen grol-ma, had in defending the family's abundant wealth. His father, Nam-mkha' phun-tshogs, had died at the age of thirty-seven, already before Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho's birth, and since there was no son yet, the relatives came fighting for the land and belongings of Rin-chen grol-ma, not knowing that she was pregnant. The head of the village, gZi[48]-dar dpal-'bar, finally decided to wait for the birth of Rin-chen grol-ma's child. If it was a boy she could keep her property, and so it turned out to be.[49]

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[43] O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho: *Bla ma grub thob u rgyan lhun grub rgya mtsho'i rnam thar nas chos zhu gnang mdzad pa'i bskor*, 116 fols., NGMPP Reel No. L 976/14 (continued on L 977/1), in the following abbreviated by the letter *kha*.

[44] O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho: *Bla ma grub thob u rgyan lhun grub rgya mtsho'i rnam thar nas dad ldan pho mo rnams la chos kyi rgyud bskul*, 3 fols., NGMPP Reel No. L 976/14 (continued on L 977/1), in the following abbreviated by the letter *nga*.

[45] *ka* 8b5.

[46] *ka* 30a1-b1.

[47] *ka* 2a2-3. Both, Karma Blo-bzang and later Karma Chos-'phel, were the abbots of Brag-dkar rta-so (Brag-dkar Chos-kyi dbang-phyug: *Grub pa'i gnas chen brag bkar rta so'i gnas dang gdan rabs bla ma brgyud pa'i lo rgyus*, fol. 30a5 and fol. 34a2). rGyal-dbang seng-ge, a disciple of Karma Blo-bzang, held the seat of Chos-rdzong in Mang-yul.

Even though the young Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho showed signs of being the reincarnation of a lama (he had visions of rainbow colours when playing in lCang-phug[50] and built a toy house telling that there were monks inside listening to the teachings of their lama), Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho was brought up and behaved rather like a normal boy in his society. At an age between six and seven, he started to tend goats and sheep together with his friends on the surrounding mountains. Being sad about not having a father like the others, he decided to take up a religious life. Nevertheless, he started to go hunting together with his stepfather dByar-gsum bde and a friend, bKra-shis don-grub. They were proud of Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho when he proved to be an excellent archer able to bring down many wild animals. One day, however, he saw from the mountain called Chen-rtsa[51] that a wild sheep was caught in one of his traps. He approached it, thinking to kill it with his knife. Upon looking into the eyes of the animal and hearing it cry, he felt compassion and the call to practise Dharma, lest he be reborn as a mountain sheep.[52]

In the following we learn that it must have been something unusual for a boy of his time to be taught to read and to write. First, his stepfather tried in vain to get Lama Chos-skyong from dGon-pa rdzong[53] to instruct the boy. He was finally accepted by Lama Ting-'dzin don-grub from Sems-khrid gling Monastery.[54] In the same class was also the son of the lama, rDo-rje dbang-phyug. Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho attended classes only for one and a half months. His classmates were always playing, and he preferred to continue his studies on his own in the house of his mother.[55] At an age between 17 and 18 he mastered the Tantric Nyingma cycles of *dKon mchog spyi 'dus* and *Thugs grub drag pa rtsal*. Still, he occasionally went out to play with his friends. A year later he successfully participated in many arrow-shooting and stone-throwing competitions; he played dice and recited the *dKon*

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[48] Tib. *shi* is probably a misspelling.

[49] *ka* 4a2-b4.

[50] *kha* 23a7. lCang-phug is the huge fortress-like house of his mother located half an hour south of the main village of sNar-stod. It is one hundred metres to the north of an old fortress which, when manned, can block the narrow valley easily (oral communication from Lama Nyima Ngödrup).

[51] A mountain above the village Kyang, three hours' walk to the south of the main village of sNar-stod, to which it belongs (oral communication of Lama Nyima Ngödrup).

[52] *ka* 4b4-6b1.

[53] The fortress-like building on a small mountain; it is surrounded by what is today called Phu Gaon (oral information from Lama Nyima Ngödrup).

[54] Oral information from Lama Nyima Ngödrup, who said that Lama Ting-'dzin belonged to his own family lineage. The Sems-khrid gling dgon-pa in Phu Gaon (=sNar-stod) is in fact the place where I found this autobiography of O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho.

[55] *ka* 6b1-7a4.

mchog spyi 'dus pūja with his friend Rab-bstan. At the age of 21, he requested—probably from Lama Ting-'dzin don-grub—a special "mind instruction" (Tib. *sems khrid*) of how to remember all animals he had killed.[56] Thinking that he would not get any proper *sems-khrid* teachings in his own village, he went together with his friends dBu-mdzad Nag-dbang and Grogs-po bzang-po to see the famous Chos-rje rGyal-dbang seng-ge (b. 1628), who was a close Dharma friend of the treasure-finder Gar-dbang rdo-rje and a disciple of Karma Blo-bzang.[57] They were told to return the next year. Not giving up, the three then visited the 'Brug-pa lama sNyan-grags dbang-po at the Chos-rdzong mgon-pa.[58] He happily instructed them, but seeing that they were lazy and slept long, he sent them to fetch wood, for which one had far to go.[59] Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho further received meditation instructions from A-khu don-grub while staying for one month at Bar-le Cave.[60] Upon leaving, he donated generously to A-khu don-grub and held a seven-day-long feast with women and men singing and dancing.[61]

Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho then borrowed medicine texts from La-thag grub-chen and mastered this discipline as well.[62] At the age of 23 he left Nar together with five friends to buy medicine and meet the treasure-finder Gar-dbang rdo-rje in sKyid-grong. On their way back they also visited the sacred places of the Kathmandu Valley. It is interesting to note that they had to pay, both there and in Gorkha, a road toll.[63]

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[56] *ka* 7a4-b2.

[57] See Ehrhard 1998: 4.

[58] Chos-rdzong is a monastery in the possession of the family lineage of rGyal-dbang seng-ge (see the biography of rGyal-dbang seng-ge's father, 'Od-zer rgya-mtsho). It is located in rNyings (Mang-yul), about halfway between rDzong-kha and Rus (also spelled Rud). Being thus just north of Nubri, it can be easily reached from Nar via Gyasumdo and Larkye Pass. (I thank F.-K. Ehrhard for this reference.)

[59] *ka* 7b4-8a3.

[60] According to Lama Sonam from Tashi Lhakhang and Lama Nyima Ngödrup, the cave is just across from 'Od-'bar phug on the eastern side of the main valley, about 15 minutes' walk from the village of sNar-stod (Phu Gaon).

[61] *ka* 8a7—b1.

[62] *ka* 8b1-2.

[63] "At the age of 22 and 23, I . . . went together with . . . to Kyirong and Nepal, in order to buy medicine, to learn pulse-diagnosis and to meet the treasure-finder. [. . .] There are two posts collecting a road toll, the one of the Gorkha king and the other of the king of Nepal. When I reached Nepal, I bought many medicines, such as *dza-ti* medicine . . ., visited the Bauddhanāth Stūpa and the Svayambhunāth Stūpa, made prayers, promised to [recite] *maṇi*[-mantras] and returned home via Gorkha, the valley of Namthar Dzong[a] and Metsheg (in the lower part of the Nar valley) in the fourth month." *lo nyi shu rtsa gnyis rtsa gsum gi skabs su / nga rang dang . . . sman nyo ba dang / rtsa'i lag khrid slab pa dang / gter gton mjal (text: 'jal) ba dang / skyid grong dang bal po . . . phyin (text: 'gro). [. . .] gor kha rgyal po dang / bal po rgyal po'i lam 'phral len pa khag gnyis 'dug / . . . bal po sleb dus / sman dza ti . . . sman mang po nyos / mchod rten bya (text: byas) rung kha shor dang / mchod rten 'phags pa shing kun mjal (text: 'jal) / smon lam btab / ma ṇi dam bca' slang byas (text byes) te /*

When they returned home, sNar-stod and sNar-smad were quarrelling and about to go to war because of Lama Chos-skyong rdo-rje.[64] After two or three unsuccessful negotiations the two villages started to fight, and since Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho was the best in archery and throwing stones, he participated in the local war. He proudly tells us that he was not afraid of the enemy and that he went ahead to within shooting distance and shot his own arrows. As they did not pierce the armour of the enemy, he retreated. It eventually occurred to him that it was after all not his own war, and that he would go to hell if he killed sentient beings during the conflict. Since the fighting broke out when Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho was 23 years old, the local war can be placed in the year 1681.[65]

When he was 24, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho married rDzong chung-ma, who was still very young. The marriage seems to have been not so happy, for rDzong chung-ma is described as a quarrelsome woman who lied and stole all the time. They divorced, he gave her a field, and their child was looked after by Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho's mother.[66] He then meditated at Bar-le Cave, after receiving the transmission and initiation of the *rdo-rje phur-ba* practice. During his stay in the cave be became sick, entered bardo and—so he said—spent seven days in hell. Having survived, he went on a pilgrimage to gTsang.[67]

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slar gor kha dang / rnam thar rdzong gi lung pa dang / sme tshegs nas byas te zla ba zhi pa la yul du 'khor (*ka* 8b2-4, 9a4-6).

[a] In the biography of Padma don-grub we find the spelling *rnams-dar rdzongs* ("bDag bya btang ras pa padma don grub kyi chos byas 'tshul thob 'tshul dang bka' ba spyad 'tshul rnams bzhugs so," p. 137, l. 3). This place-name has not been recognized by the local people, but it must be somewhere around Besi Sahar, which lay on the old road from Gorkha to Manang.

[64] Oral tradition in Nar has it that Lama Chos-skyong rdo-rje of sNar-stod, who belonged to the *khyung-pa* family of sNyi-shang, was called upon to return home. When he failed to comply, sNar-stod went to war with sNar-smad, which was on the side of sNyi-shang at that time (Lama Nyima Ngödrup).

[65] "At that time, sNar-stod and [sNar]-smad quarrelled because of Lama Chos-skyong rdo-rje and went to war. They met and quarrelled two or three times. At that time, I [proved to] be the better archer and the better in throwing stones. I was confident (*stab*) that I would be better than whomever I met, and did not know fear. Therefore, I advanced within shooting distance of the other soldiers and shot [my] arrows. They did not hit the soldiers, only [their] impenetrable armour. I alone [started to] think and [concluded that the war] was not for my own benefit. If I hit a man shooting an arrow and he died, it would be a great sin and I would definitely go to hell. Resolving that I would not shoot any more, I retreated from the soldiers." *de dus chos skyong rdo rje'i (text: rje) don dag (text: btag) la / snar stod (text: bstod) smad gnyis khams chu thug te / dmag (text: dmags) byas (text: byed) te / 'khrug pa lan gnyis gsum thug (text: thugs) 'dug (text: 'dus) / de dus (text: 'dus) nga ni mda' bshad (rtsed?) che ba / rdo (text: sdo) bshad (rtsed?) che ba / sus nga thug kyang bshad (rtsed?) che ba'i stab gi / 'jig mi shes pa yod pas / dmag mi gzhan las mda' rgyang gang tsam (text: tsams) phar 'gro nas / mda' rgyab myong te / (dmag) mi la ma phog phub cig la phog myong / nga rang gcig po bsam blo (text: sno) gtang 'dug pas / nga rang gi don ni med (text: man) / mi la mda' rgyab nas phog te shi na sdig che / 'gro sa dmyal ba las mi 'dug / da ni mda' mi rgyab bsams nas / dmag mi nang nas sngon (text: sngan) la log 'gro myong /* (*ka* 9a7—b3).

[66] *ka* 9b3-5.

[67] *ka* 9b5-20a4. The passage contains a fairly long description of hell.

According to the relatively short chapter *nga* of the autobiography, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho founded at the age of 25 his 'Od-gsal chos-gling chapel[68] inside dGon-pa rdzong in sNar-stod.[69] Quite interesting is the following passage, where he writes that he was in need of a "secret woman" (*gsang yum*) for the Cakrasaṃvara practice while residing in dGon-pa rdzong. If a proper woman was not provided for the secret initiation of Cakrasaṃvara, he would face obstacles for the rest of his life. Thus he spent seven days together with Kun-dga' dpal-'dzom, a single woman with a son, engaging in the "play of secret conduct" (*gsang spyod rol pa*). After that they moved to 'Od-gsal chos-gling.[70] At the request of elder people from sNar-smad he went to the villages of bCa'-skog, 'Zu-nams and sMe-rtsegs,[71] there bestowing long-life initiations. This was very brave of him, since he was probably summoned to counteract a contagious disease which had already killed some people in bCa'-skog.[72] Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho was grieved that his consort dPal-'dzom fell sick too. Later Karma Chos-'phel from sNar-smad made offerings and repeatedly asked Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho if dPal-'dzoms could stay with him. Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho must have been not adverse to the idea, since he tells us that he contentedly accepted while another lama in his situation would have started a quarrel, and so returned to 'Od-gsal chos-gling.[73]

In the first chapter of the biography we are next told that Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho married again at the age of 29, this time the daughter of Lama Ting-'dzin don-grub, Karma Sri-thar. The quarrel with Lama Zhi-drag Seng-mdong which resulted from this marriage was mediated by the village heads of sNar-smad and sNar-stod. Later on, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho and his wife even became disciples of Lama Zhi-drag Seng-mdong. They had one son, who soon died, and then a daughter who turned out to be retarded.[74]

At the age of 34, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho had a vision while in retreat. He experienced in meditation a dreamlike raven who came carrying a paper scroll in its beak and dropped it in front of him. He read the scroll, which was written in *ḍākinī* script. It said that in India he had been the Mahāsiddha Virūpa, the *ḍākinī* master,[75] and that he should not remain only in one place, but rather roam around in different countries.[76] Thereupon he left Nar together with his wife, whom he later sent back to Nar from Tibet, though.[77] Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho further tells us that the local deity of Nar, Jo-bo mar-tshe, followed him, because the *lha-btsan* would not receive enough offerings back home without him.[78] In his 37th year Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho met the great treasure-finder gTer-bdag gling-pa.[79]

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[68] *nga* 1b6-2a1.

[69] Oral information of Lama Nyima Ngödrup.

[70] *nga* 2a3-7.

[71] The three villages belong to sNar-smad. bCa'-skog, the most northern of the three, borders on sNar-stod. 'Zu-nams is just a one-hour walk to the south, and sMe-rtsegs is reached after another hour (the villages were identified by Lama Nyima Ngödrup).

[72] When I was in sNar-smad, I was told that the village of bCa'-skog had been abandoned a long time ago because of a contagious disease.

[73] *nga* 2a8-b3.

[74] *ka* 20a4-b5.

[75] The text reads *Bhir-ya pa* (23a5), which is an alternative form for Virūpa (see Dowman 1985: 43-52).

The first part of the autobiography stops at the age of 39 and does not provide any further information on Nar. In the following chapter, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho tells us that he spent about four to five months of his 39th year in Lho-brag giving teachings and initiations.[80] No years are henceforth provided; only at the end of the rather lengthy second chapter of the biography, we are told that it covers the period from ages 39 to 54. Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho's fame as an accomplished yogi had grown to such an extant that he was even received in the Potala Palace by the famous Regent sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho while staying in Lhasa.[81] On his way from dBus to gTsang, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho met the treasure-finder bDud-'dul gling-pa from sPang-shong. The latter bestowed initiations on him and gave him transmissions (*lung*) for about a month.[82] When returning home to Nar via Mustang, probably in 1697 or 1698, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho called on the king of Mustang, bSam-grub dpal-'bar, for whom Jackson (1984: 134) gives the year 1675 as his *floruit*. Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho told the king in detail about his travels to dBus and gTsang and gave him some

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[76] "At the age of 34, I was in a long retreat of strict silence. At one time, [I saw,] as a direct experience, as in a dream, a raven bring in its beak a paper scroll and drop it in front of me. I opened it and looked at it: it was probably the symbolic script of the *ḍākinīs*. Some I did not know. Somewhere in the middle [it said]: In India, you have been the so-called Siddha Virūpa. Therefore do not remain in one place; go to countries in all directions and act for the welfare of living beings." *lo so bzhi skabs su / mtshams ngag bcad dam po yun ring bsdad (text: sdad) dus cig la / dngos nyams rmi lam lta bu cig la / bya rog gi kha la shog dril gcig khyer te / nga rang gi mdun la kyur byung / kha phyes te ltas pas / mkha' 'gro brda (text: brda') yig yin pa 'dra 'dug pas / la la ni mi shes pa 'dug / bar lag cig la / khyed rgya gar gi skabs su / sgrub thob bhir va pa zhes bya ba yin pas / khyed sa cig du ma bzhugs par / rgyal khams phyogs med du byon nas 'gro don mdzad* (*ka* 23a4-6).

[77] *ka* 30a3.

[78] *ka* 25b6.

[79] *ka* 33a7.

[80] *kha* 3a4-4a6.

[81] "At that time the Lama Rinpoche (i.e. the Dalai Lama) did not show up on the throne, [and so] I met the regent and king Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho," *de dus bla ma rin po che ni khri (text: 'khri) la 'khod ma thon / sde srid mi'i dbang po sangs rgyas rgya mtsho mjal /* (*kha* 7a2). The Fifth Dalai Lama was, of course, already dead at the time.

[82] *kha* 14a1.

"blessed substances" (Tib. *dam rdzas*) of the treasure-finder (bDud-'dul gling-pa?). The king took one, but evidently felt not very inclined towards this Nyingma teaching.[83]

From Mustang, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho traversed four passes (Sa-nag la, Tshang-ra la, g.Ya' la, sTar-ya la) directly on the way to Nar.[84] Lama Nyima Ngödrup recognized Sa-nag la and sTar-ya la, which he himself had crossed starting from sNar-smad. Across these two passes one reaches Tangye in Mustang. It should be remembered that for Tibetans a pass does not necessarily mean a full-scale ascent and descent, so that Tshang-ra la and g.Ya' la may have been just smaller heights between the two main passes. When climbing down from sTar-ya la, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho recognized dGon-pa rdzong amidst a setting of familiar mountains. Upon seeing Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho's group descending from the pass leading to Mustang, a boy tending goats took them for the men of King bSam-grub dpal-'bar, and alarmed the people in the village, who immediately gathered at the gate of the fortress called Sa-dba' la. Later on in the *rnam-thar*, we are told that the people of Nar had to pay tribute to the king of Mustang.[85] Even Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho paid King bSam-grub dpal-'bar money, and also gave him tsampa and meat when he was later crossing Mustang on his way to Dolpo. From this we can conclude that Nar had to pay tribute to Mustang, and that it must have been resisting doing so to some extent. This could also explain the presence of the huge fortresses and towers at strategical points in the Nar valley. Indeed sNar-stod itself is a nearly impregnable fortified village built on a steep hill.

Having returned home, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho, who was already believed dead, was heartily welcomed by his wife, mother and friends. His teacher Lama Ting-'dzin don-grub, however, had passed away earlier. At the request of Grub-chen Karma rab-rgyas on behalf of the monk community of sNar-stod, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho gave *rdzogs-chen* teachings during a religious ceremony at dGon-pa rdzong. Even the gods attended the teaching for seven days, as one god who had taken taken possession of the body of a woman medium had announced. After also giving the transmission of the *Kun bzang dgongs 'dus* and *'pho-ba*, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho spent one year meditating at "Light-radiating Cave" ('Od-'bar phug), which is just below bKra-shis lha-khang Monastery in sNar-stod.[86]

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[83] "Then I reached Mustang and met King bSam-grub dpal-'bar. He was very pleased and asked me about the "news" (*skad cha*) in dBus and gTsang, and [in doing so] he insisted strongly. I told [him] straightforwardly whatever talk I had heard, and gave him texts and a blessed substance of the treasure-finder. At the time the king was very happy and swallowed a [pill of the] blessed substance. I thought that if [the king] practised this "treasure-teaching" (*gter chos*), and [its seed] had been planted in all [government-]peasants on the tenth, all sickness, famine and conflict would be laid to rest, but auspicious coincidence proved to be poor." *de nas glo ba la sleb / sde pa bsam grub dpal 'bar mjal las / khong yang thugs dgyes dgyes mdzad nas / dbus gtsang gi skad cha ci 'dra 'dug gsung nas zhib zhib mdzad byung / bdag gi kyang skad cha ci thos (text: mthos) de bzol bzogs med par drang por bshad / gter gton gi phyag bris dang dam rdzas rnams phul bas / sde pa yang de dus thugs mnyes mnyes mdzad / dam rdzas cig bzhes (text: zhes) 'dug / bdag gi bsam pa la gter chos 'di nyams (text: mnyam) su blang (text: slang) tshes bcu mi sde thams cad la gtsugs na / nad mug 'khrug rtsod thams cad zhi ba yin te / rten 'brel 'grigs po de ka lod po (text: pod). . . .* (*ibid.*, *kha* 17a2-5).

[84] *kha* 17a6.

[85] "Then we descended [from the pass]. There were what seemed to be herdsmen [tending] goats and sheeps. They became afraid, thinking that the tax officials of the Mustang king (*sde pa*) had come, and alarmed the village. [. . .] At the entrance of the fortress people gathered one by one. [. . .] Most married men of the village paid tribute to King bSam-grub dpal-'bar." *de nas mar yong / . . . ra lug gi rdzi po 'dra 'dug / kho rnams ni skrag te / sde pa'i hor (text: hon) 'dra yong ba red bsam nas yul la skad gtang song 'dug / . . . rdzong sgo la mi cig 'dus gnyis sdud (text: sdus) byed nas mi mang po 'dug / . . . yul kyi khyo ga phal cher sde pa bsam grub dpal 'bar la 'phral phul song* (*kha* 17b6—18a3 and 18b6).

Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho then left for Mustang and Dolpo.[87] During this time the tribute collectors of the king of Jumla must have been quite active not only in Dolpo but also in southern Mustang.[88] Though Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho successfully avoided them in Bha-la, in Tichurong (Tib. *dri chu rong*[89] 'Valley of Scented Water'),[90] he was bothered by them in Kag (today: Kagbeni) while on his way to Muktināth. Pretending not to understand their language, he moved on with his monks. One tribute collector came running after them and seized the walking stick of one of the group. After a dispute, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho continued towards Muktināth without paying.[91] This incident must have happened before the year 1700, given that this was before he went to Khams for twelve years, and that he attained the age of 54 only after he came back from there.

From Muktināth he returned over the now well-known Thorong Pass, which is spelled *thotrum la*[92] in the biography. Back in sNar-stod, he instructed and initiated 'Gyur-med seng-ge, Nam-mkha' bzang-po and O-rgyan rab-rgyas, and sent the three on a retreat to "Light-radiating Cave."[93] He himself spent some time in retreat in Guru gsang-phug,[94] where he had visions of Tantric deities.

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[86] During our stay in sNar-stod, Lama Sonam, the present abbot of bKra-shis lha-khang Monastery, showed us the Light-radiating Cave.

[87] *kha* 18a6-19a7.

[88] According to Schuh (1995: 22) Kagbeni came under the domination of Jumla probably under Bahādura Śāha.

[89] See Snellgrove 1961: 33.

[90] *kha* 21a7.

[91] "Then, when we reached Kag[beni], there were tribute-collecting men from the king of Jumla. We did not recognize them. The Mon [pas] said (in a kind of Nepali): "Where are you from? [We are men of the] king *Kashir ti debs*![a] Nevertheless, we, master and disciples, went on without answering, and further on a Mon [pa] seized the walking stick of a monk. I said (in Nepali): "What are you doing, leave us alone!" And he let us go. Then, when reaching Muktināth. . . ." *de nas kag la sleb (text: slebs) tshe / 'dzum lang (text: long) rgyal po'i 'phral 'dud mi red te / nga rang tshos ngo ma shes / mon rnams na re / tumi kahangko ho / radza kashir ti debs zer byung kyang / nged rang dpon slob tsho lan ma byed par phyin pas / pha tshad na mon cig gi grva pa'i rgyug pa la bzung (text: zung) byung / bdag gi kya gar tsha / tsho gro tsho gro byas pas gtang byung / de nas chu mig brgya rtsa la sleb tshe. . .* (*kha* 22a3-5).

[a] I have not succeeded in identifying this king. Pandey (1997: 203) informs us that "for over fifty years from 1676 there was much chaos in the Jumla Valley owing to the conflicts of the princes for the supremacy of their power." None of the names of the rulers mentioned by Pandey comes close to the one mentioned by Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho.

[92] *Ibid.*, *kha* 22b4.

Notwithstanding his spiritual aims, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho was always fond of a good feast with dance and a lot of drinks. Once he was invited to such a social gathering in sNar-smad while staying at Thag-mchod Monastery in sNyi-shang. When he reached the top of the pass Ti-rig gang-la (today called only Gang-la) above Nawal, female Dharma practitioners welcomed him by performing dances. He afterwards enjoyed the feast of dancing, singing and drinking in sNar-smad so much that he later sent a horse as a present to the village.[95] Subsequently he was invited back home to preside over a marriage at dGon-pa rdzong in sNar-stod, where the Mahāsiddha joyfully joined in the drinking and dancing.[96] After four months of retreat at the seat of his root-lama Ting-'dzin don-grub, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho left for Khams in eastern Tibet, where he stayed for twelve years.[97]

In the narrative dealing with the period following his return to Nar, we are told that his mother and wife had earlier died, and that the "gathering hall" in sNar-stod was in a state of collapse. Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho sadly discovered that his previous Dharma teaching and activity in Nar had borne no fruit, his new *gter-ma* teachings and practices having not been followed. He was then invited to stay at 'Chi-sprin Monastery (in sNar-stod?).[98] Chapter *kha* ends by saying that the years up to 54 are covered.

When I asked Lama Nyima Ngödrup about the remaining years of the life story, he told me that according to the oral tradition in Nar, Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho built bKra-shis lha-khang Monastery just above the "Light-radiating Cave". Later he left for Kathmandu and passed away at the great Chorten in Bauddhanāth. Following his teacher to Kathmandu, Phur-pa bstan-'dzin had a dreamlike vision of Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho during a short nap between sNar-stod and Kyang. Knowing that his teacher had passed away, he painted his vision on a rock nearby. The place is nowadays known as Lha-'bri-ba.

Conclusion

The two autobiographies of Karma Blo-bzang and Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho provide us not only much insight into the religious lives of lamas and mahāsiddhas in the northern border areas, but also some valuable—hitherto little-known—information on the Nar valley. Karma Blo-bzang makes it clear that the local population was adhering, at least ocassionally, to some kind of shamanic practices, and according to Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho the people of Nar were not at all diligent practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism; at least he was not satisfied with the results of his religious activity upon coming home from Khams after twelve years. From Mumford's study (1990) we know that at least in the lower parts of the Marsyangdi valley (Gyasumdo) Tibetan Buddhism has been in a competition with Gurung Shamans. Even though Bon is in practical terms not much adhered to any more either in Nar or in sNyi-shang nowadays, it must have enjoyed at least some popularity in the past.[99] Thus I found a Bon *maṇḍala* ritual for *nāgas* in different places of the sNyi-shang valley, such as Chame and Nawal.[100] Lama Tashi from Nawal and Lama Nyima Ngödrup told me independently that sNyi-shang, Nar and Mustang were by turns engaged in an annual ritual sacrifice of twelve human beings.[101] Thus twelve men were killed every third year at a huge rock north of Manang village, in Nar Gaon, and Lo Monthang. Eventually a less cruel substitute sacrifice of twelve goats was introduced. The widespread practice of ritual animal sacrifice in Nar and sNyi-shang, including the annual offering of twelve goats, was according to Lama Tashi for the most part given up in the 1960s, when the widely respected Sixteenth Karmapa Rang-byung rig-pa'i rdo-rje sent from his seat in Rumtek an open letter to Gyal-po Rinpoche (the father of Lama Tashi) in Nawal, requesting that everybody stop "sacrificing animals" (*dmar mchod*). Included in the letter was a ritual which the Karmapa composed especially as a substitute ritual for animal sacrifice.[102]

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[93] *Ibid.*, *kha* 23b1.

[94] *Ibid.*, *kha* 23b6. This must be the Guru gsang-phug in sNar-stod and not the one south of Jomsom, because a long journey and the crossing of a pass would normally be described in the *rnam-thar*.

[95] *Ibid.*, *kha* 24a3-6.

[96] *Ibid.*, *kha* 25b5.

[97] *Ibid.*, *kha* 113b2. The account of his stay in Khams constitutes the major part of chapter *kha*.

[98] Not recognized by Lama Nyima Ngödrup.

One should keep in mind that my observations are only based on the little textual material available and on the oral information of mostly Buddhist lamas and manuscript owners, for the simple reason that I did not meet any other persons during my microfilm expeditions whom I got familiar enough with to ask the necessary questions. My findings should thus be seen as the starting-point for further historical and ethnographic research in this remote side valley of the Marsyangdi. It seems to me that the original cults and beliefs are still now firmly rooted in Nar and even sNyi-shang, and that the occasional appearance of charismatic Buddhist saints and lamas, such as Jonang Kun-dga' grol-mchog, Karma Blo-bzang or O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho, did not have a lasting influence on the population. The situation has not changed very much since then. The present abbot of Sems-khrid gling, Lama Nyima Ngödrup, has more or less given up his seat and settled in Nawal, in sNyi-shang. It is only thanks to the presence of Lama Karma Sönam Lhundrup, who is originally from Nang-chen in eastern Tibet, that some substantial Dharma activity can be sensed in this remote side valley. Lama Sönam came to sNar-stod in 1961, rebuilt Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho's bKra-shis lha-khang Monastery, and tried to turn people's minds towards the Dharma. Among other things, he collected and destroyed all weapons and animal traps in the area, for which he received an award from the Annapurna Conservation Area Project.[103]

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[99] See von Fürer-Haimendorf 1983: 108.

[100] One such is the *brTsang ma'i klu 'bum dkar mo dang rig sngags klu'i dkyil 'khor*, 232 fols., NGMPP Reel No. L 1039/8.

[101] Also von Fürer-Haimendorf (1983: 109) was told of Bon rituals in Nar which required human sacrifice. But fortunately in the particular case the author refers to, the selected victim, the son of a widow, was replaced by a yak.

[102] According to the colophon no animal need be sacrificed any longer when this *dmar gsur* ritual is performed (*Lha srin rnams la dmar gsur bya ba sde brgyad thog gi rgya mdud ces bya ba bzhugs so*, fol. 6a4, NGMPP Reel No. L 1036/19).

With the material available at present, we are far from being able to write a history of Nar and sNyi-shang. The autobiography of O-rgyan lhun-grub rgya-mtsho, however, provides some interesting historical details and offers plausible explanations for the presence of impressive towers and fortress-like buildings in the Nar valley. First of all, the local war of 1681 (see above) shows that the main villages of the valley were occasionally in need of fortified proctection, even from each other. The fact that men immediately gathered at the fortress at the foot of the pass leading into Mustang when they saw Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho's group from a distance indicates that Nar was ready to protect itself from both troops and tribute collectors from Mustang. Later Nar must have been also visited by men serving the lords of the Muktināth valley, when Nar was given to them by Gorkha as a free estate. It is very unlikely that the tribute was always handed over peacefully, if at all, though. Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho's autobiography further contains the important detail that Kagbeni in southern Mustang was visited by tribute collectors from Jumla in 1699 or at the latest 1700. According to oral information, troops from Jumla must have even entered Nar in the middle of the 17th century, since it is said that they once unsuccessfully besieged dGon-pa rdzong in Phu Gaon just before the time of Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho (b. 1658). This provides further evidence of Jumla's powerful regional hegemony, which at times even extended to the east of Mustang.

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[103] An Award from ACAP, NGMPP Reel No. L 996/2.

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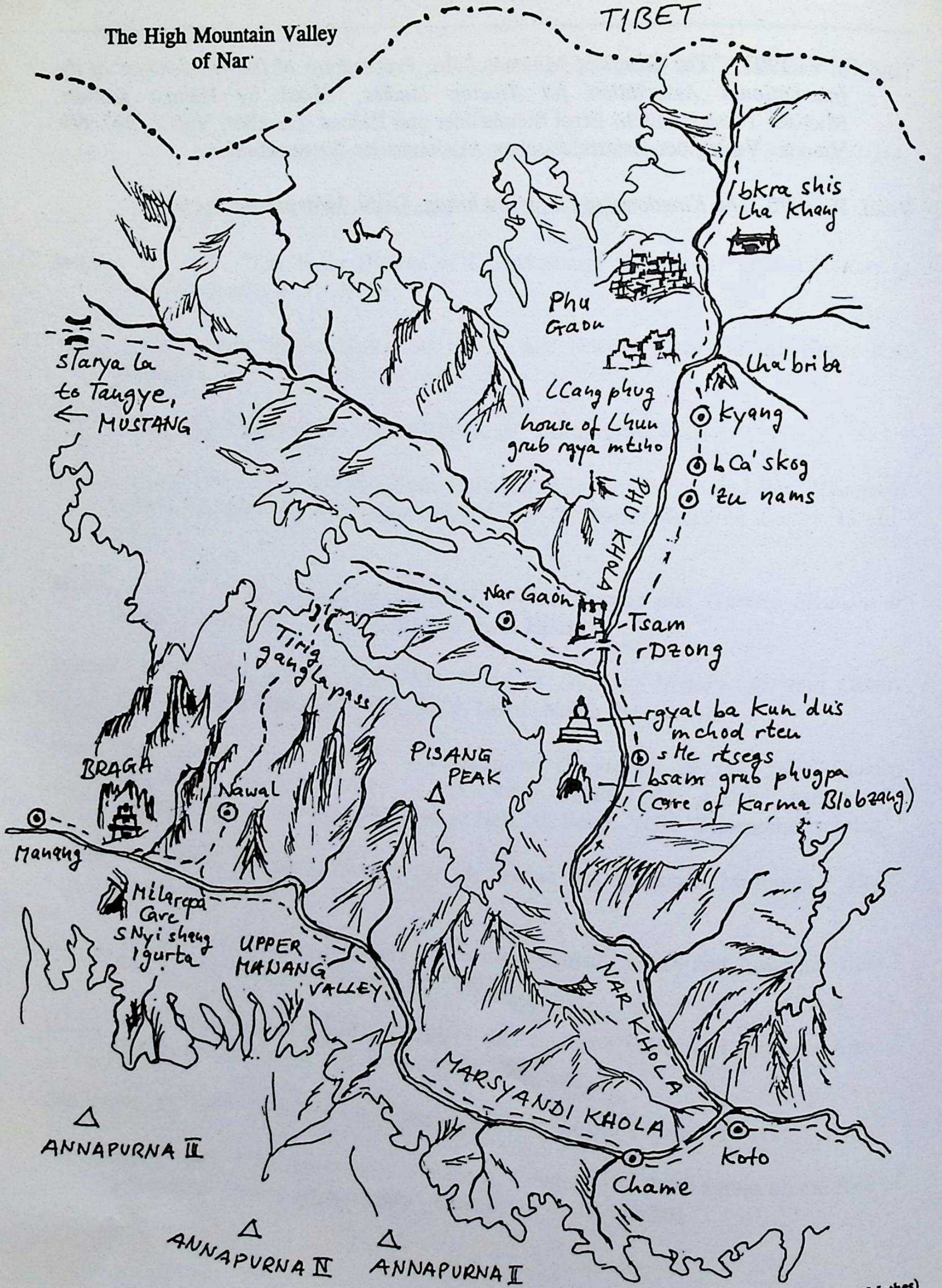
TIBET
bkra shis Lha Khang
Phu Gaon
Lcang phug house of Lhun grub rgya mtsho
Lha'briba
Kyang
bCa'skog
'zu nams
PHU KHOLA
sTarya la to Tangye, MUSTANG
Nar Gaon
Tsam rDzong
Tirig gangla pass
rgyal ba kun 'dus mchod rten
sMe rtsegs
bsam grub phugpa (Cave of Karma Blobzang)
PISANG PEAK
BRAGA
Nawal
Manang
Milarepa Cave sNyi shang lgurta
UPPER MANANG VALLEY
NAR KHOLA
MARSYANDI KHOLA
Koto
Chame
ANNAPURNA III
ANNAPURNA IV
ANNAPURNA II

(drawing by Dagmar Mathes)

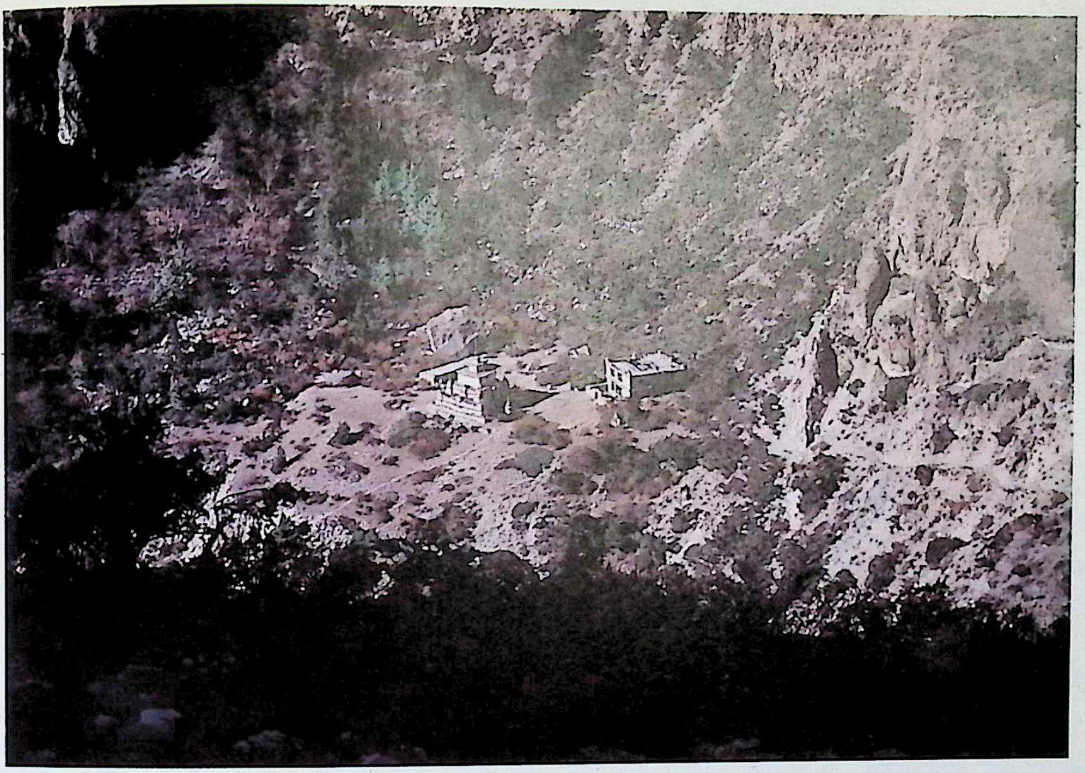

Plate 1 rGyal-ba kun-'dus mchod-rten, erected by Karma Blo-bzang

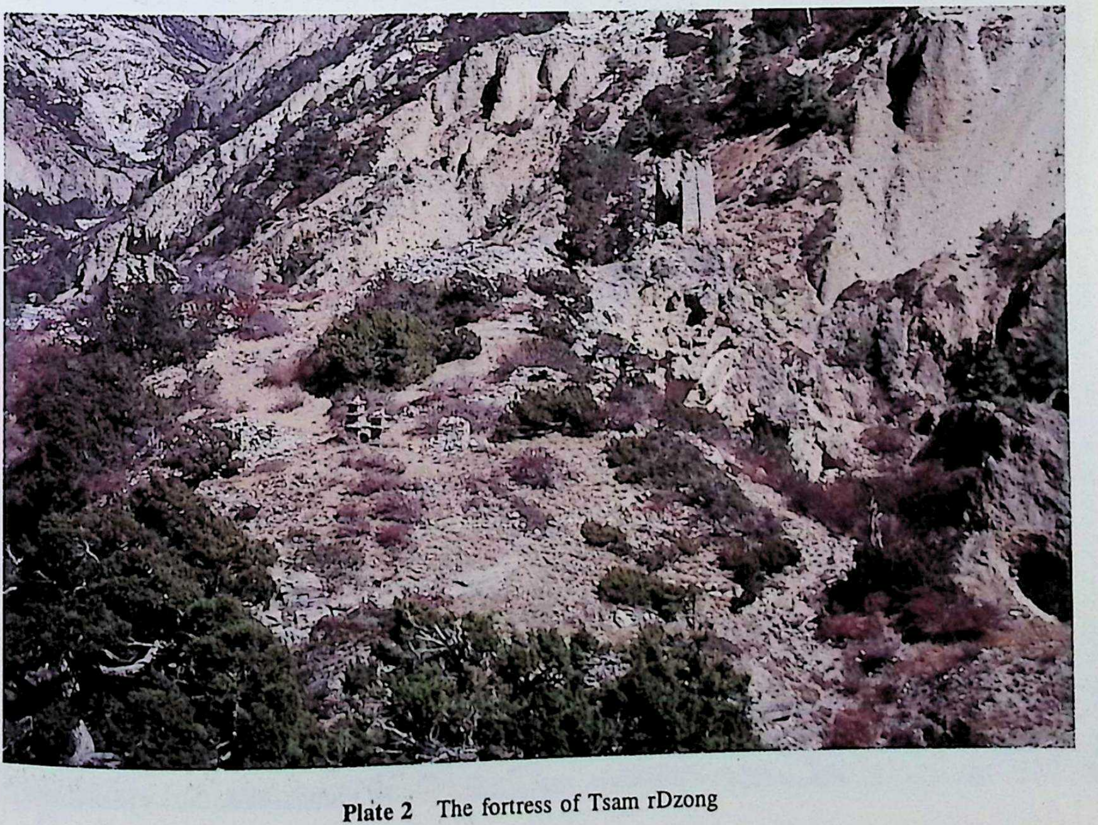

Plate 2 The fortress of Tsam rDzong

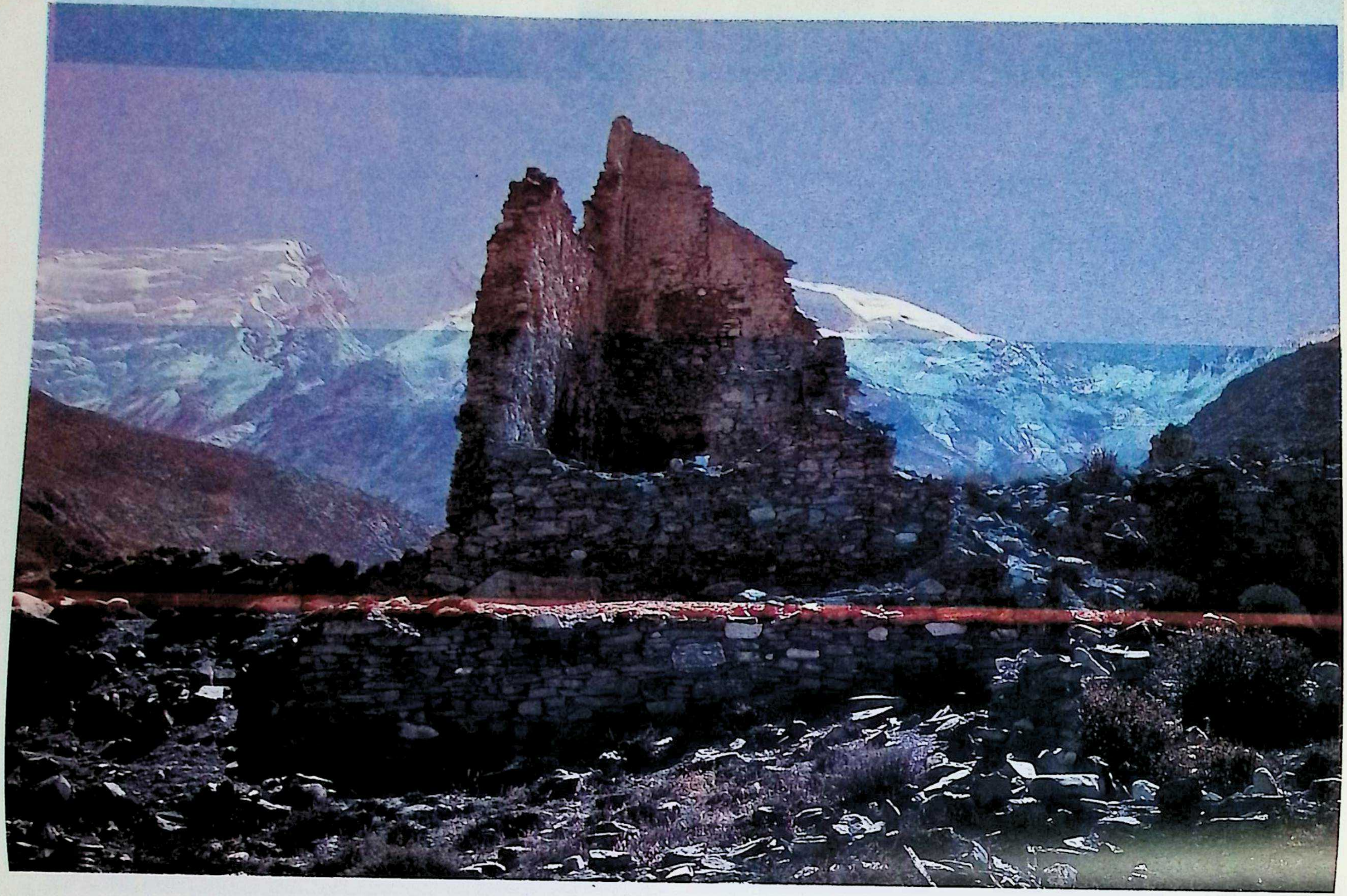

Plate 3 The ruins of lCang-phug, the residence of Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho

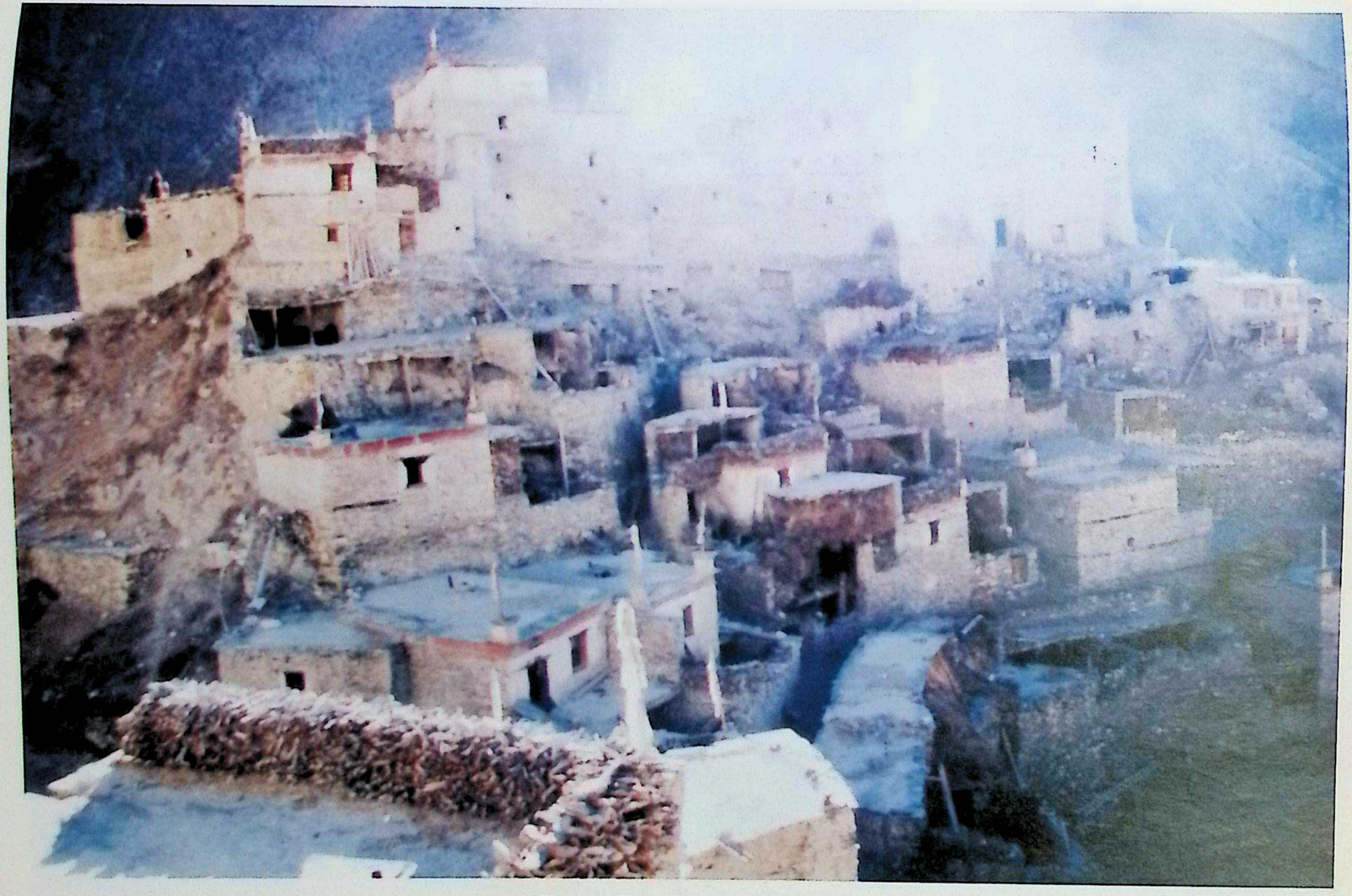

Plate 4 The village of Phu Gaon

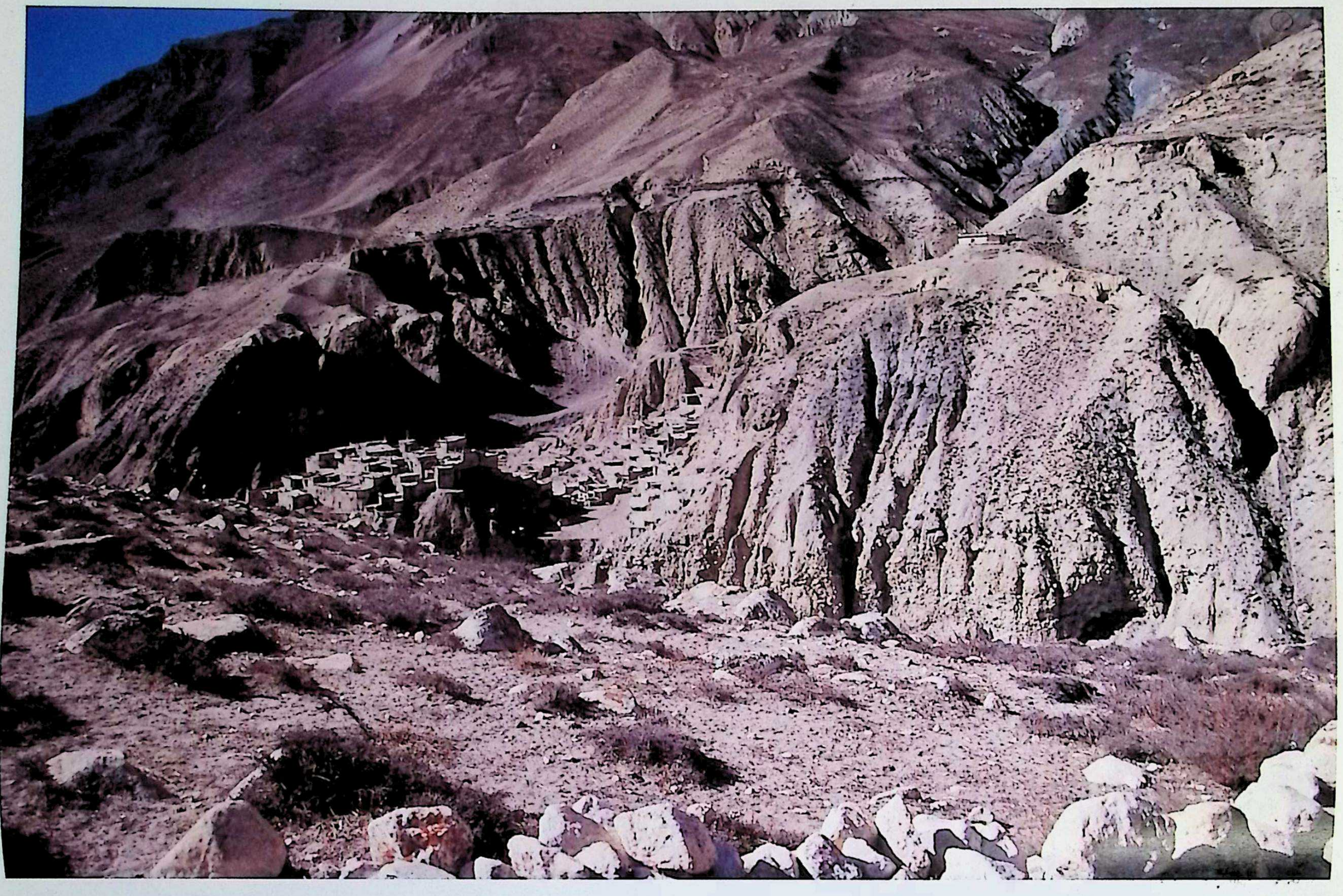

Plate 5 Phu Gaon seen from bKra-shis Lha-khang

A Historical Overview of the Renovations of the Svayambhūcaitya at Kathmandu

ALEXANDER VON ROSPATT

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1) Introduction

By far the most important shrine for Newar Buddhists, in particular those of Kathmandu, is the Svayambhūcaitya.[1] It is located about a mile west of Kathmandu on top of a hillock that is usually called Seṃgu or Segu, or a variation thereof. Its mythological origins in a prehistoric time are related in the various recensions of the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*.[2] As for the historical beginnings of the Svayambhūcaitya, they are obscure. The little evidence that points to the existence of the Svayambhūcaitya in the 5th and 7th century is flimsy and far from conclusive (see section 2). However, from the 14th century onwards there is ample evidence, documenting in particular how the *caitya* was "renovated" again and again at odd intervals. Within roughly 450 years, more precisely from 1370 to 1820, it was completely renewed at least twelve times. These renovations were major affairs. Rather then merely fixing what was marred, the *caitya* was—in accordance with the treatises on this subject

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[1] For the use of the term *caitya* rather than *stūpa* see v. Rospatt: 1999a, fn. 1.

[2] For a brief treatment see v. Rospatt 1999a, pp. 130-132.

(*jīrṇoddhāravidhi*)—dismantled down to the dome. Except for the metal which is melted down for reuse, the dismantled parts are discarded ritually. This includes the massive central wooden pole (*yaṣṭi*) traversing the entire structure from the bottom to the top. Upon the base of the largely dismantled dome, a new *caitya* with a new *yaṣṭi* is erected to the same proportions and with the same materials as the old one. Thus to renovate does not mean to repair but to replace by an exact duplicate. This should be borne in mind when I use the word "renovation," for lack of a better term, besides "renewal," "rebuilding" etc.

The old structure before and the new one after the renovation are linked by the divine essence (*nyāsa*) of the *caitya*. It is ritually extracted before the old structure is dismantled. Having been kept and worshipped on a daily basis (*nityapūjā*) in a water vessel (*nyāsaghaṭa*), it is transferred back into the newly erected structure that replaces the former one. Moreover, the *caitya*'s finial (*gajur*) and—even more so—its crest-jewel (*cūḍāmaṇi*), may be reused, so that there is some continuity between the old and new structure also on this count. Furthermore, the Buddha statues set in the niches and other elements which do not form an intrinsic part of the *caitya* may be reused. Even so, the renovated *caitya* is essentially a remake of the marred one it replaces. The structure has been rebuilt and, decisively, the *yaṣṭi* and the honorific parasol (*chattra*) are new, the wood for them having being cut ritually in the forest.

Thus, although the present *caitya* at Seṃgu was constructed only in the 19th and 20th centuries (parts of the structure date from the renovation completed in 1816 and parts from the last renovation carried out in 1918), it still mirrors to some extent how the *caitya* must have looked centuries before then, and arguably even how the *caitya* looked originally. This has to be qualified, however. Firstly, the new *caitya* replacing the old one may be bigger, as long as the proportions are not changed. Such an enlargement happened at least once. An undated gloss in the Newari language added in a second hand to a likewise undated manuscript, with the title *Stūpalakṣaṇakārikāvivecana*, preserved in the National Archives of Kathmandu[3] records the measurements for the Svayambhūcaitya for an unspecified time. The script of the gloss and the features of the Newari point to the late 14th or 15th century, though this is not certain. There is another set of historical measurements for the Svayambhūcaitya, namely those recorded in an historical architectural drawing giving, part by part, the measurements of the *caitya* after the completion of the renovation in *nepāl saṃvat*[4] 832 (1712 A.D.) and in NS 937 (1817 A.D.).[5] Comparing the measurements of the gloss with those of the drawing, it can be ascertained that in the time between the measurements of the gloss and 1712, the *caitya* was increased in size by exactly one third.[6] In the process of enlarging the Svayambhūcaitya, the proportions of the various parts of the *caitya* remained constant.

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[3] Accession no. 3-366, NGMPP Reel No. A 969/13. This text, but not the gloss with the measurements, has been studied by Gustav Roth (1980: 183-209 [esp. 193-196]).

[4] The era *nepāl saṃvat* started on 20 October 879 A.D. In the following *nepāl saṃvat* is abbreviated as "NS."

[5] There are two copies of this drawing. They have been transmitted in two different manuscripts which have been published by Bernhard Kölver, in his book *Re-building a Stūpa: Architectural Drawings of the Svayambhūnāth*, as "manuscript A" and "manuscript B."

Besides being increased in size, peripheral elements such as the shields (Newari: *halaṃpati*) attached to the cube above the dome (*harmikā*) were also replaced in altered form when the *caitya* was rebuilt.[7] Also, more fundamental changes were made if deemed necessary. Thus initially there were at most four (and possibly no niches at all) set in the dome. Later a fifth niche for Vairocana and a further four niches for the Buddhist goddesses of the intermediate directions were added. It is also likely that the number of massive rings which are mounted above the *harmikā* and extend to just below the *chattra* has been increased to the standard thirteen over the more than thousand years that is the *caitya*'s age at the least. This is suggested by the prominent examples of clearly very old *caitya*s with fewer rings, such as the Pulāṃ[8] Seṃgu *caitya*, which only has nine rings. Thus, despite the duplication of the previous structure, there was enough scope for change in order to adapt the *caitya* to doctrinal developments and "bring it up to date." Hence it may be more appropriate to say that the present structure reflects, rather than mirrors, the way the Svayambhūcaitya may have looked a thousand years ago. The dynamics of change observed here are characteristic for South Asia. The starting point is the faithful preservation of an ancient model of unquestioned authority, sanctity and, in a sense, truth. However, the transmission of this model is not so rigid as not to allow for change and innovation. This is not unlike the transmission of texts, teachings and doctrines. They are supposedly faithfully transmitted, but, in fact, are in the process often changed and modified.

In this article I want to give an overview of the major renovations, that is, all renovations that entailed the dismantling of the old structure, the replacement of the central pole (*yaṣṭi*) and the rebuilding of a new *caitya* to succeed the dismantled one. Smaller renovations involving only the replacement of the honorific parasol (*chattra*) have not been taken into account, but I do include the renovation carried out by gTsang-smyon Heruka in 1504, when the upper part of the *caitya*, including the 13 rings, was renewed. The main source for the seven renovations undertaken between the end of the 16th century and 1817 are chronicle-like texts that were written (in Newari) either by one of the participating priests or by close observers.[9] Focusing on the rituals rather than on the building process as such, these texts record all major steps in the course of a renovation, starting with the procurement of a new *yaṣṭi* and ending with the final extended reconsecration. They document in great detail how the *caitya* was renovated at the time, providing a wealth of details on the rituals and on such circumstantial issues as the organization of the Newar priesthood, the sponsorship, collective support and involvement of much of the upper-caste Buddhist populace of Kathmandu, and the role of the king. I have presented and evaluated this material in an extensive study (see v. Rospatt 2000) which is currently under preparation for publication.[10] Here I confine myself to a summary account of the renovations (which I have extracted from this study) without offering an analysis of the material.

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[6] The details of these measurements are too technical to allow for an easy presentation that would fit the present framework.

[7] For a detailed description of the structural elements of the Nepalese *caitya* see the section "Guide to Terms and Structural Elements relating to a *caitya*" in Niels Gutschow 1997: 16-24.

[8] Note that for technical reasons I do not differentiate between the *anusvāra* and *anunāsika* and render both letters as *ṃ*.

[9] I gratefully acknowledge the help of Kashinath Tamot with whom I read most of these Newari texts.

The Svayambhūcaitya is a revered shrine not only for Newars, but also for Tibetans who have sponsored and actively participated in numerous renovations. Therefore, there is not only Newar but—as Franz-Karl Ehrhard has shown in two articles (1989, 1991) on this subject—also important Tibetan material that has to be taken into account.[11] Besides the sources referring to specific renovations, there is a summary of the Svayambhūcaitya's renovations which the Tibetan savant Brag-dkar rta-so sprul-sku Chos-kyi dbang-phyug provided in his pilgrim guide of Nepal entitled *Bal yul gyi gnas dang rten gyi lo rgyus nges par brjod pa 'phrul snang (?) nor bu'i me long*, which was presumably composed in 1816 or 1817.[12] Moreover, there are two "inventories" (*dkar chag*) that register in chronological order the renovations known to their Tibetan compilers. The more widely noted inventory is the *dkar-chag* with the title *Bal yul mchod rten 'phags pa shing kun dang de'i gnas gzhan rnams kyi dkar chag bzhugs so* which was published by Turrell Wylie as Appendix B to his *A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal*. The other inventory is the five-folio Tibetan *dkar-chag* called *Dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad kyi thugs kyi rten 'phags pa shing kun dkar chag* which, though already published in 1976, went largely unnoticed until Franz-Karl Ehrhard (1991) drew attention to it.

The *dkar-chags* only record renovations with significant Tibetan involvement. Much more comprehensive than these accounts is Hemraj Shakya's monumental study *Śrī-Svayambhū Mahācaitya*. Using a great array of Newar sources and consulting to some extent Tibetan sources as well, he compiled a vast corpus of material relating to the history of Svayambhū. The following overview is much more limited in scope, confining itself to the major renovations involving the replacement of the *yaṣṭi*. However, I make use of sources, both Newar and Tibetan, which Hemraj Shakya did not have at his disposal, in order to give as complete an account as possible. It is almost certain that the sources identified by me record all major renovations of the Svayambhūcaitya since the end of the 16th century and most, if not all, renovations that were undertaken in the 250 years before then. However, there are few sources attesting to renovations before the middle of the 14th century, so that there have certainly been more comprehensive renovations than attested in this overview.

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[10] I am grateful to the German Research Council (DFG) which generously funded this study.

[11] The Tibetan material presented in the following I owe largely to Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Hubert Decleer who generously shared with me the results of their painstaking research on Tibetan sources related to Nepal.

[12] Vol. *ta* (entitled *rnam nges skor*) of the Collective Writings of Brag-dkar rta-so sprul-sku Chos-kyi dbang-phyug. I am grateful to Hubert Decleer for making available his draft translation of this text, which was discovered by Franz-Karl Ehrhard.

2) The evidence before the mid-14th century: Newar sources

Before the sack of Kathmandu by the Bengali king Shams ud-dīn in the middle of the 14th century, there are very few indigenous sources on the Svayambhūcaitya. The record dating back furthest is handed down in the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*. It relates that the king Viśvadeva (presumably = Vṛṣadeva, who flourished around 400 A.D.) completed the consecration of the "revered *caitya* of the monastery at Sīnagu" (*sīnaguvihāracaityabhaṭārika*) (20v2f.), that is, the hillock upon which Svayambhū is located (and which in the Newar sources chronicling renovations in the 16th to 19th century is called "Seṃgu" or "Segu"). If this refers to the Svayambhūcaitya (rather than to another *caitya* such as the aforementioned "Old Caitya of Seṃgu" [Pulāṃ Seṃgu *caitya*] located on the saddle between the two mounts of the Seṃgu hillock), then this is the oldest evidence for the existence of the Svayambhūcaitya, commemorating its consecration either at the conclusion of the original foundation or at the completion of what would be the oldest attested renovation. It has to be borne in mind, however, that the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī* was only compiled some thousand years after Vṛṣadeva (to be precise, between ca. 1387 and 1390 A.D.), so that the record of the consecration has to be treated with due prudence.

The other source usually adduced to prove the antiquity of Svayambhū is the Aṃśuvarman inscription at Gokarṇa (Dhanavajra Vajrācārya 1996: 370f.). However, this badly damaged inscription from the beginning of the 7th century only refers to the Svayambhūcaitya if it is accepted that the preserved letters . . . *bhūcaityabhaṭṭā . . . form part of the conjectured word "Svayambhūcaityabhaṭṭāraka," as Dhanavajra Vajrācārya proposes. Furthermore, there is the record in the Bhāṣāvaṃśāvalī* (p. 78), a chronicle composed in the 18th century in the Nepali language after the conquest of the Valley by the Śāhas. It relates that the Licchavi king Mānadeva, who set up the famous inscription of Cāṅgu Nārāyaṇa and was presumably the great-grandson of Vṛṣadeva, offered a *chattra* to the Svayambhūcaitya. Having been composed 13 centuries after the supposed donation in the 5th century, this source does not inspire much trust either. Despite the flimsiness of all these sources, there are reasons to believe in the antiquity of the Svayambhūcaitya. For it is likely that the hillock was an important sacred place that was transformed into a Buddhist sanctuary upon the advent of Buddhism in the Valley. Much later, by the beginning of the 11th century A.D., the *caitya* had become so famous a site even in India that it was depicted with a caption in an illuminated manuscript (miniature 37 of the Calcutta Manuscript No. C. 15, dating from 1071 A.D.) utilized by Alfred Foucher for his *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique* (pp. 56f.).

Mary Slusser (1892: 298, fn. 149) refers to what—leaving aside the record in the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*—would be the oldest Newar source testifying to a renovation of Svayambhū, namely a 17th-century, as yet unpublished *thyāsaphū* that reportedly records the renovation of the *caitya* in the reign of King Harṣadeva at the end of the 11th century. Regrettably, I had no chance to verify this information, which was imparted to Mary Slusser by Gautamvajra Bajracharya. At any rate, one wonders how reliable one isolated reference in a record compiled six centuries later can be. Significantly, Hemraj Shakya in his encyclopedic *Mahācaitya* makes no mention of this renovation.

There is a further Newar source that may refer to a renovation before Shams ud-dīn, namely an inscription nowadays kept in the Mūrtisaṃgrahālaya Museum up at Svayambhū. It has been published by Hemraj Shakya and Tulsi Ram Vaidya (1970: 55-57). Unfortunately, the inscription is so badly worn away that even such an experienced epigrapher as Hemraj Shakya could only identify a few *akṣaras* on each line. All the same, the legible letters suggest clearly that the inscription records a renovation. On epigraphic grounds Shakya (*ibid.*) dates the inscription tentatively to the 12th century. Mary Slusser noticed three ciphers inscribed at the upper edge of the stone bearing the inscription. She read these ciphers as 2 4 9 and hence dates the inscription to NS 249 (= 1128/29 A.D.). However, the ciphers are (at least nowadays) damaged and allow for a highly conjectural reading at best. More troubling, the numbers were executed in a different hand and clearly do not form part of the original inscription. The most favourable explanation would be that they were added later as a kind of label dating the inscription, possibly when the date recorded as part of the inscription had already faded or was on the point of becoming obliterated. Hence, it is far from certain that the inscription really dates from 1129. Also, Shakya's dating of the inscription to the 12th century is not secure. On the other hand, on palaeographic and other grounds it is likely that the inscription predates Shams ud-dīn's raid of the Valley in November 1349 A.D.

3) The renovation accomplished by Jo-btsun sPras-pa, presumably in the first half of the 13th century

The gap in our knowledge of renovations before Shams ud-dīn is filled a little by the Red Annals (*Deb ther dmar po*), a chronicle compiled in the 14th century. It records—regrettably without providing dates—that a certain Jo-btsun sPras-pa ("sP/Brad/s-pa" or Sras-pa"?) renovated the Svayambhūcaitya when he came to Nepal.[13] For this purpose he cut the tree for the new *yaṣṭi* in the forest of Siṅga, which was located in the environs of Nuwākoṭ north of the Kathmandu Valley.[14] Upon the conclusion of the renovation he set up a new *chattra*, whitewashed the rebuilt *caitya* and installed a "long stone" (*rdo ring*), that is, presumably an inscription.[15] After Jo-btsun sPras-pa had been honoured with gifts by the king and distinguished citizens (*bhāro*) of Kathmandu, he set out towards Tibet. Apparently on the way, he died at a place called Rashamase.

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[13] See *Deb ther dmar po*, 146f. The passage in question is reproduced in the *Gung thang dkar chag* (fol. 26b), a chronicle written in 1782. A study of the Gung-thang chronicle is currently under preparation by Per K. Sörensen *et al.*

[14] rTa-tshag Tshe-dbang-rgyal relates in his *lHo rong Chos 'byung* (written ca. 1446, pp. 151-153) that the Siṅga forest, located in the vicinity of Bal-po rdzong (= Nuwākoṭ), was an important retreat place (*sgrub gnas*) in the Ras-chung sNyan-brgyud tradition, which goes, via Ras-chung rDo-rje-grags-pa (1085-1161), back to Mi-la ras-pa (1040-1123). In the 12th century rDo-rje-grags-pa's disciple Ngam-rdzong ras-pa stayed there with his followers. Cf. Macdonald and Dvags-po Rin-po-che 1981: 270.

[15] No Tibetan inscription from the 13th century is preserved at Svayambhū. There is only the largely effaced Sanskrit inscription mentioned in the previous section. It is unlikely that it refers to the present renovation, because the inscription set up by Jo-btsun sPras-pa was presumably executed in Tibetan rather than Sanskrit. At most, it could be argued that the Sanskrit inscription was an equivalent set up on the same occasion. In this (rather improbable) case the date read by Slusser could be emended to read *nepal saṃvat* 349 so that the renovation would date from 1228/29 A.D. This would be in basic agreement with the conjectured date of the renovation by Jo-btsun sPras-pa (see below).

Jo-btsun sPras-pa belonged to the fold of the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa school. Unfortunately, neither the Red Annals nor related pertinent sources on the dissemination of the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa school in Western Tibet provide chronological data that would allow for precise dating of this renovation. However, it is related in the *Deb ther dmar po* (pp. 133, 146) that Jo-btsun sPras-pa was a disciple of lHa-phyug mkhar-ba Nyi-zla-'od (1135-1215), who was the fourth throne-holder of the mother monastery of the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa school at Gung-thang from 1210 to 1214, and of Sangs-rgyas-'bum, who was the next throne-holder from 1214 to 1219 (or to 1231 according to a different tradition). Given these dates, and given the unlikeliness of close cooperation between the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pas and the Sa-skya-pas, it is probable that the renovation carried out by Jo-btsun sPras-pa is not identical with the renovation accomplished by *dPon-chen* Śākya bzang-po between 1264 and 1270 (see below). On the basis of internal evidence, Per K. Sörensen (oral communication) suggests that the renovation may be dated tentatively to the period between 1215 and 1230.

4) The renovation commissioned by dPon-chen Śākya bzang-po in the second half of the 13th century

The above-mentioned *dkar-chag* of five folios records the aforementioned renovation of the Svayambhūcaitya in the second half of the 13th century (Ehrhard: 1991: 16f.): "After a certain time the mast there broke. *dPon-chen* Śākya bzang-po donated three large dronas and 50 ounces of gold. The *kalyanamitra*s from dBus and gTsang, the *bare*s from Nepal, [and] the *thakura*s from India having donated much wealth, the [new] mast was set up by the bla-mas from Central Tibet, father and son." Ehrhard (*ibid.*) identifies *dPon-chen* Śākya bzang-po as the first chief administrator of the whole of Tibet (*chol kha gsum*), answerable directly to the Mongolian leadership. Since he held office from 1264 to 1270,[16] it is likely that the renovation of Svayambhū was carried out (or at least initiated) within this period. He was, according to Ehrhard, also in charge of the finances for the building of a temple with a golden roof at Sa-skya—a project in which the celebrated artist Arniko (1244-1306) participated. Thus the renovation was firmly in the hands of the Tibetans. The costs were largely borne by *dPon-chen* Śākya bzang-po, and hence presumably by the Sa-skya administration he headed, and the actual renovation was accomplished "by the lamas from Central Tibet."

5) The renovation after the raid of Shams ud-dīn

In stark contrast to the paucity of evidence for renovations before Shams ud-dīn, there is an impressive array of different textual sources recording most, and conceivably even all, major renovations of the Svayambhūcaitya since the second half of the 14th century. To start with, there is an inscription at Svayambhū[17] that commemorates how the *caitya* was repaired some twenty years after it had been set on fire (*dagdha*) as part of the sacking of the Valley by the troops of Shams ud-dīn in 1349.[18] The main donor was a certain Rājaharṣa with his family (lines 19-24 of the inscription), who obtained permission from King Jayārjunadeva from Bhaktapur and from the "sub-king" (*upendra*) Jayasthiti Malla of Kathmandu.[19] Upon the hoisting of the precious *chattra*, the renovated *caitya* was reconsecrated, in October 1372, with an extended fire ritual of one hundred thousand oblations (*lakṣāhuti*), lasting four days and nights (*caturahorātrayajña*) (ll. 16-18, 29f. and 31f.). In addition to the *chattra* and the thirteen gilded rings (*cakrāvalī*) rising above the *harmikā*, a crystal (*sphuṭita*) and a staff surmounted by a gem (*ratnoṣṇīṣadaṇḍa*) and studded with every kind of jewel *(viśvamaṇikhacita)* were offered to the *caitya* (ll. 27f.). Moreover, a golden (that is, golden-plaited) finial (*suvarṇakalaśa*), banners (*dhvaja*), and golden struts (*suvarṇadaṇḍa*) were provided (ll. 28f.). Presumably, these donations had become necessary because the jewels and gold parts of the previous structure had been plundered by the troops of Shams ud-dīn. Before these newly donated parts were installed atop the *caitya* together with the aforementioned *chattra*, they were apparently taken around Kathmandu in a big festal procession that lasted likewise four days and nights (ll. 24-27).

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[16] See Petech 1990: 144.

Besides the donors and the king, the inscription also commemorates the names of two of the priests (Jñānakīrtisenapāda and Jayānanda), the astrologer (Ratnapati) who determined the auspicious moment for the consecration, the jeweller (Śrīmān Candra) who fabricated what probably served as the new *cūḍāmaṇi*, and two "woodworkers" (*dārukarmakara*) (commemorated as *sthāpit* Bhāro and his nephew Jayarāma Bhāro) who were presumably in charge of fitting the *yaṣṭi* and possibly of rebuilding the *caitya* as a whole (ll. 30-34).[20]

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[17] Nowadays this inscription stands north-west of the Svayambhūcaitya, firmly secured in a wall together with other inscriptions, among them the inscription mentioned in fn. 35. It has been published under the title "Arjunamalla-Jayasthitimallasamayābhilekha" in *Saṃskṛta-sandeśa* (*aṅka* 10-12 [1953/54], pp. 13-17). It has also been reproduced as inscription 29 in Regmi 1965-1966: vol. 3, 21-24.

[18] Lines 8 *et seq.*: *evaṃ yavanadagdhas tu sa stūpo [']pi tathā sthi*[9]*taḥ* |

[19] Lines 14 *et seq.*: *ādāyājñāṃ dvayo rājñor indropendrasamāna*[15]*yoḥ*.

[20] Keith Dowman (1981: 212) writes that the aforementioned *dPon-chen* Śākya bzang-po assisted this renovation. However, as Franz-Karl Ehrhard (1991: 18, fn. 13) has shown, the renovation undertaken by this Śākya bzang-po occurred some hundred years earlier (see above). Ehrhard's result is in accordance with the inscription from 1372 inasmuch as it records that both the financing and the know-how for the renovation came from among the Newars. Though this does not preclude some Tibetan participation in the renovation, it is—in the light of other Newar sources—difficult to believe (but, of course, not inconceivable) that the inscription could have ignored the involvement of Tibetans if they had initiated and carried out the renovation.

6) The renovation under King Jyotir Malla completed in 1413

The *yaṣṭi* was replaced again after forty years. This is attested by an inscription at Paśupatinātha,[21] part of which is reproduced in the colophon of a manuscript of the *Caturaṅka Rāmāyaṇa*.[22] The inscription and colophon commemorate the offering of a golden finial (*suvarṇakalaśāvarohaṇa*) for Paśupatinātha by King Jyotir Malla in 1413 (NS 533), and add—without providing any details—that in his reign (which had commenced four years earlier) the Svayambhūcaitya was repaired, too.

The renovation under Jyotir Malla is dealt with in the *dkar-chag* of five folios studied by Ehrhard. It records that "the parasol together with the accompanying disks (and hence the renovation) was completed in a proper manner on the full-moon day of the fourth month in the serpent year [=1413]."[23] The *dkar-chag* also relates that donations had come from various regional rulers in Tibet, but leaves no doubt that Jyotir Malla was in charge of the renovation: "The King of Nepal, Sri Jyotirmalladeva, superintended and, after having praised the assembled *bare*s in an official writing, called together the craftsmen under his charge" (*ibid.*). It seems that the main person actually carrying out the renovation was not a Newar. Rather, Mahāpaṇḍita Śākya-śrī Śāriputra, the celebrated abbot of Bodhgaya,[24] is credited with having set up the new *yaṣṭi* to replace the previous one that had broken (*ibid.*). He did so when passing through Nepal on his way to the Chinese emperor, who had invited him to the Ming court. For the renovation Mahāpaṇḍita Śāriputra apparently used funds provided by the Chinese emperor for the whitewashing of the dome of Svayambhū. Thus this renovation attests not only to continued links between Buddhists of India and Nepal, but also to the fame of Svayambhū in even as far away a place as the Chinese capital.

7) The renovation carried out by gTsang-smyon Heruka in 1504

It was after an interval of 73 years that the *caitya* was again renovated extensively, though apparently this time this did not involve the replacement of the *yaṣṭi*. Exceptionally, I deal with this renovation all the same because of its impressive scale and the detailed account found in the religious biography (*rnam thar*) of gTsang-smyon Heruka (1452-1507), written in 1547 by rGod-tshang-ras-pa sna-tshogs-rang-grol (pp. 208-228).[25] This account, which includes a detailed *dkar-chag* of the renovation (pp. 220-226), was used by Brag-dkar rta-so sprul-sku Chos-kyi dbang-phyug for his previously mentioned synopsis of the Svayambhūcaitya's renovations (*op. cit.*, 17a). It relates how already in 1476 when gTsang-smyon was visiting Nepal for the first time, the god Gaṇapati manifested himself to the renowned Tibetan lama with the request to renovate Svayambhū (p. 174 and p. 228 of the mentioned *rnam-thar* by rGod-tshang-ras-pa; unless mentioned otherwise, all further references in parentheses in this section are to this source). The hesitant Heruka complied with this request and vowed to take the renovation upon himself after Gaṇapati had promised to be at his side and assist him in this undertaking. More concretely, the god had pledged to send to each worker an emanation of his as an assistant and to provide materially whatever was needed (p. 175). Later, just before the start of the renovation work, Viśvakarman also manifested himself to gTsang-smyon to pledge his support (p. 216)—a pledge he kept, as we learn in the *dkar-chag* (p. 225) where Heruka credits Viśvakarman with the successful completion of the renovation.

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[21] Lines 17 *et seq.*: *śrīpadmācalaśikharopari dharmālayasthānāsṛita śrīdharmadhātuvāgīśvaramūrrtisvayambhūcaitya bhagnasthāpana.*

The inscription has been published by Yogī Naraharinātha in *Saṃskṛta-sandeśa* (vol. 1, *aṅka* 10-12 [1953/54], pp. 69-71) and by D. R. Regmi (1965-1966: vol. 3, pp. 47-50, inscription 47).

[22] See Kāśīnātha Tamoṭa 1995.

[23] Ehrhard 1991: 15. The addition in parentheses has been provided by me.

[24] On Mahāpaṇḍita Śāriputra, see Leonard van der Kuijp's forthcoming study *Still in Search of the Dharma: Indian and Ceylonese Travelers in Fifteenth Century Tibet* (Sumerville: Wisdom Publications).

After gTsang-smyon had obtained permission for the renovation from the reluctant King Ratna Malla (reign 1484-1520) (p. 208), he and his disciples started to raise the necessary funds from among Tibetans and Nepalese (p. 210). The king committed himself to provide the "wood" (*shing*) (p. 208). Reportedly, for this 800 people were requisitioned to fetch the "wood" (*shing*) for Svayambhū (p. 216), and nearly 900 workers participated in the renovation work as such. It is tempting to deduce from these high numbers that the workers were employed for towing the *yaṣṭi* to Svayambhū and later pulling it into its upright position. However, the *rnam-thar* only relates that the 13 rings and the superstructure above were replaced and does not mention the *yaṣṭi*. Likewise, as I have learnt from Franz-Karl Ehrhard, lHa-btsun Rin-chen rnam-rgyal in his biography of gTsang-smyon Heruka (written in 1543) cites only the 13 rings and not the *srog-shing*. Accordingly, Brag-dkar rta-so, too, refers only to the rings and superstructure in his above-mentioned account of the renovation. This concurs with the sole Newar source on the renovation known to me, a note appended to the colophon of a manuscript of the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* kept in the Tokyo University Library, from the first half of the 16th century.[26] There it is only related that the series of rings *(cakrāvalī)* was renovated, without any mention of the *yaṣṭi*. That only the upper part of the *caitya* was renovated is also borne out by the fact that—despite reported delays (see below)—the renovation was completed in the first half of 1504 within only a couple of months, much faster than documented for any of the renovations involving the establishment of a new *yaṣṭi*.[27]

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[25] I am again grateful to Hubert Decleer who made available his draft translation of also this text. Be it added that for the twelfth chapter (pp. 172-176), which briefly refers to the renovation of the Svayambhūcaitya, there is the translation by Todd Lewis and Lozang Jamspal ("Newars and Tibetans in the Kathmandu Valley: Three New Translations from Tibetan Sources," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* [published by the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies] 36 (1988), pp. 187-211).

[26] The manuscript has been catalogued with number 116 by Seiren Matsunami. The pagination of the penultimate folio with the colophon seems to read 174 and not 176, as the catalogue has it when it refers to the first line as 176b1, and when it claims that there are 177 rather than 175 folios. The first date given in the colophon (on 174b3), viz. 624, records the deconsecration *(nyāśa piṃkāyā)* of the Svayambhūcaitya. It is not certain that the date 624 also refers to the copying of the manuscript, as Seiren Matsunami assumes in his catalogue. However, the copyist, Jinacandra of the Maṇisaṃgha vihāra (see Locke 1985: 328-330), copied other manuscripts in *nepāl samvat* 625, 631 and 655 (*ibid.*), which confirms that the manuscript dates from the first half of the 16th century. The record of the lunar eclipse at the end of the colophon (175a3) for *nepāl samvat* 677 may have been written in a different hand, so that the manuscript could predate 1557 A.D.

Though the workers were no doubt from the Valley, the renovation was clearly in the hands of Tibetans. Thus it is recorded in gTsang-smyon's biography how the delays (to start with, due to the slowness of the Nepalese workers) were exacerbated by the apparently essential translator (a certain Tamang lama called rJe-btsun). He drank liberal amounts of rice beer (*chang*) even in the daytime, and hence, it seems, was often not fit to communicate the commands of gTsang-smyon and his disciples (p. 217). The lamas not only supervised the renovation work but also carried out the necessary rituals, including, notably, the reconsecration (*rab gnas*) of the Svayambhūcaitya (pp. 219f.). It may be safely inferred, however, that these rituals were—as in the case of the other renovations—also performed in the Newar tradition, by *vajrācārya*s. This is explicitly attested for the pacification rituals preceding the dismantling of the *caitya*'s superstructure, which were said to have been performed by both gTsang-smyon in person and by Newar priests (p. 217).

That the renovation was essentially a Tibetan enterprise is confirmed by the aforementioned Newar source. It relates that the "Tibetan guru" (*saṃjayā guru*), "who had come from the North," reconsecrated the *caitya* "in the Tibetan tradition" (*saṃyā mathana*) and afterwards returned. The source also mentions that before leaving he worshipped the "big Mahākāla" (*tao mahākāla*), apparently the massive statue housed in the temple at Tundikhel. This confirms the *rnam-thar*'s report that gTsang-smyon was renowned among the Newars for his special relationship to that deity. Already at the time of his first visit in 1476, according to the *rnam-thar* (p. 174), gTsang-smyon had stirred the minds of the population when he was seen holding hands and dancing with the same Mahākāla statue. As an indication of the measure of control exercised by Heruka over the renovation, it may be added that the *caitya*'s superstructure was reportedly redesigned by him according to his own ideas and wishes (p. 224).

I am grateful to Ryugen Tanemura, a Japanese scholar who is currently completing his doctoral thesis on the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* at Oxford University, for drawing my attention to the colophon and providing me with a facsimile of the manuscript pages in question.

[27] The *rnam-thar* by rGod-tshang-ras-pa sna-tshogs-rang-grol (p. 220) records 2 months and 13 days as the duration of the renovation, while the Newar source gives the 10th day of the dark half of *māgha* as the day when the divine essence was extracted, and the fourth day of the bright half of *caitra*, not even six weeks later, as the day when the *caitya* was reconsecrated in the Tibetan tradition. (According to the indigenous calendar of Nepal (*nepāl samvat*) a lunar month starts with the waxing (bright) fortnight, rather than the waning (dark) one.)

8) The renovation begun in 1530 after a further raid of the Svayambhūcaitya

Only some twenty years after the renovation by gTsang-smyon Heruka the Svayambhūcaitya was demolished by the Magar troops of Mukunda Sena, the king of Palpa. According to the Newar record that is included in a manuscript of the *Nāradasmṛti*,[28] in March 1526 the troops of Mukunda Sena went on a rampage through the Kathmandu Valley for some ten days (interrupted by a religious bath at Paśupati on the new moon day), burning and ravaging many villages, and also Svayambhū, Thaṃ Bahīl and Khusi Bahīl. The Magars' campaign through the Valley is also recorded in an unpublished *thyāsaphū* (kept in the Royal Library of Copenhagen with the number W.J. 135) (fol. 2v), dealing in the main with the history of Guṃ Bāhāl of Sako (= Sāṃkhu), a village located to the east of Kathmandu at the edge of the Valley (hence my designation of this text as "Sako chronicle" in the following). Here we learn that the Magars had already attacked Patan the year before (February 1525) and that they returned in April 1528. They then captured Kīrtipur from where they were, however, promptly (it seems one or two days later) driven away by the forces of Kathmandu.

Despite the slight discrepancy in the dates and notwithstanding the difference between "Magars" and "Turuṣkas" ("Turks," that is, Muslim forces), it is very likely that Brag-dkar rta-so refers to the same events when he relates that in 1529 a "Turuṣka" army invaded the Valley and plundered the Svayambhūcaitya, taking away the gilded rings and honorific *chattra*, and then tried to set fire to the remaining structure, thereby disfiguring but not seriously damaging it (*op. cit.*, 17a/b).[29] At any rate, the *caitya* had once more become impaired and hence needed to be rebuilt yet again. This time, too, the renovation was prompted by gTsang-smyon Heruka. He appeared in a vision to his heart disciple lHa-btsun Rin-chen rNam-rgyal (1473-1557), requesting him to have the Svayambhūcaitya renewed. As lHa-btsun's autobiography bears out,[30] he complied with his guru's request. He began with the renovation of the *caitya* in 1530, directing the erection of a new *yaṣṭi* and the rebuilding of the superstructure with the tiers, the *chattra* and the finial. Perhaps because of the scarcity of funds, the renovation went on for a period of almost ten years, so that the *caitya* was only reconsecrated in 1539/40. During that time lHa-btsun also met with the king of Kathmandu Amara Malla (reigned ≈ 1529-1560). It seems that lHa-btsun's funds were so meagre that he only covered parts of the *harmikā* and none of the rings with gilded copper sheets. At any rate, the western and northern side of the *harmikā* and the 13 tiers were covered with such sheets by his disciple sKyid-grong-gnas Rab-'byams-pa Byams-pa Phun-tshogs (1503-1581) thirty years later in 1570—an event which was followed by another consecration of the Svayambhūcaitya in 1572. This is related in the autobiography of Rab-'byams-pa,[31] and on that basis also reported by Brag-dkar rta-so (*op. cit.*, 17b). To my knowledge, there are no Newar sources attesting to the renovation by lHa-btsun Rin-chen rNam-rgyal and his disciple Rab-'byams-pa. Accordingly, in Hemraj Shakya's *Mahācaitya* it goes unreported. However, the inscription commemorating the subsequent renovation carried out at the end of the 16th century (see below) refers to the (from its perspective) preceding renovation discussed here and specifies that it was carried out after the Turuṣkas' occupation (*tiraskānā pariṣvaṅgāt*) (l. 6).[32]

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[28] The record of Mukunda Sena's attack of the Valley is transmitted as part of the Newar manuscript of the *Nāradasmṛti*, kept in the Keshar Library (no. 369), Kathmandu. It was written in a different hand on two empty pages. Mahes Raj and Dinesh Raj Pant (1980a: 101f.) have published this record together with a Nepali translation. See also *id*. 1980b: 1-24, and Petech 1984: 210.

[29] It is, to my knowledge, not recorded that Mukunda Sena destroyed Hindu shrines. This conveys the impression that he specifically targeted Buddhism. On the other hand, Mahes Raj Pant and Dinesh Raj Pant (1980b: 16f., 19) have drawn attention to accounts that the Palpa king also made offerings to Buddhist deities. On this basis they suggest that Mukunda Sena may not have attacked Svayambhū as a sacred shrine but rather as a strategic fortification (*durga*) that stood at the western exit of the Valley. However, such a benign interpretation of Mukunda Sena's attack of Svayambhū can hardly be upheld if the identification of the marauding Turuṣka army of Brag-dkar rta-so's account—which plundered and burnt the *caitya*—with Mukunda Sena is true.

[30] *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa mkhas grub lha btsun chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam mgur* (54 fols., xylograph from the 16th century). I am indebted to Franz-Karl Ehrhard who has extracted for me the pertinent information from this as yet unpublished and little known *rnam-thar*.

9) The twin renovations sponsored by Jayarakṣa of Kathmandu at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century

Some sixty years after the installation of a new *yaṣṭi* by lHa-btsun, "the *yaṣṭi* had become old,"[33] so that an extensive renovation including the replacement of the *yaṣṭi* was carried out from 1591 to 1595 (NS 711-715). Only a few years later the Svayambhūcaitya was struck by lightning and had to be renovated all over again,[34] a task which was carried out from

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[31] *mKhas grub chen po byams pa phun tshogs kyi rnam thar* (93 folios, xylograph from the 16th century). Again Franz-Karl Ehrhard was so kind as to check for me the relevant passages of this newly discovered *rnam-thar*.

[32] In this context reference has to be made to a Newar painting of Svayambhū which was first published by Theodore Riccardi (1973). As Mary Slusser (1985: vol. 1, 43, fn. 7), has argued convincingly, Riccardi misread the date of the inscription in the painting as NS 715 or alternatively NS 725, no doubt because he based himself on the inscription recording the two renovations completed in the reign of Śivasiṃha Malla. The painting's inscription records that in 1565 (NS 685) "the consecration of the thrice-blessed Svayambhū[caitya] of Syaṃgu was accomplished" *(thvadinakunhu śrīmatśrīśrī syaṃgu svayaṃbhu . . . pratisthā sampūrṇa yāṅana*; the ellipsis marked by the sequence of three full stops is part of the quote adduced from Slusser (*ibid.*, p. 34, fn. 6). In light of the Tibetan sources it is unlikely that the consecration in 1565 concluded a full-fledged renovation of the *caitya*. This is confirmed indirectly by the mentioned record that the renovation before 1595 had been accomplished after the occupation by the "Turuṣkas" in the 1520s. Possibly the painting refers instead to the donation (and subsequent consecration) of a new *chattra* (which, in this case, would have been offered only five years before part of the *harmikā* and the 13 rings were—according to the Tibetan sources—covered with gilded copper). Such an interpretation would be in accordance with the painting itself, which depicts only the replacement of the honorific *chattra* and not a complete renovation.

[33] *Thyāsaphū* microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (Reel No. E 1874/2), 8,7: *yirasi purāna juko*.

[34] This is recorded in l. 16 (*vajraghātaiḥ surendraḥ punar atiśayajīrṇṇaṃ stūpaṃ etañ cakāra*‖) and ll. 30 *et seq.* (*thvanali vajrāghāta juyāva śrī 2 śivasiṃha ādeśanaṃ hano jīrṇṇoddhāra yāṅā*‖) of the inscription mentioned below.

1601 to 1604. The two renovations were performed much in the same way, largely with identical donors and participants (hence I refer to them as "twin renovations") and so are recorded together in an extensive bilingual (Sanskrit and Newari) inscription at Svayambhū[35] and in the, to my knowledge, oldest of the Newar texts chronicling renovations of Svayambhū, namely a *thyāsaphū* microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (Reel No. E 1874/2) (to which the references in this section refer).

The inscription records for both renovations the dates of the erection of the *yaṣṭi*[36] and of the final consecration.[37] This account can be supplemented by the mentioned *thyāsaphū*. In the month of Caitra NS 711 (≈ April 1591) the tree for the central post of the *caitya* (*yaṣṭi*) was felled somewhere along a tributary of the Triśulī in the area north of the Kathmandu Valley from where the *yaṣṭi*s came as a rule. The following year in Jyeṣṭha NS 712 (≈ June 1592) different neighbourhoods of Kathmandu (see below) took turns towing the *yaṣṭi* to Svayambhū, presumably after it had already been transported part of the way. The *yaṣṭi* arrived some six weeks later at the top of Svayambhū. Work continued only after an interval of a year and a half, in Mārgaśiras NS 714 (≈ December 1593), with the fabrication of new rings up at Svayambhū. A further two months later, in Māgha (≈ February 1594), the *caitya* was deconsecrated by extracting the divine essence (*nyāsa*) and then quickly dismantled, so that exactly two months later, on the 11th day of the waxing fortnight of Caitra (≈ April 1594), the new *yaṣṭi* could be raised. Within the next six months the *caitya* was rebuilt, and on the second day of the waxing fortnight of Āśvina (≈ October 1594) the divine essence was transferred back into the *caitya* from its temporary abode in the vessel, where it had been kept since the deconsecration. Half a year later, in Caitra NS 715 (≈ April 1595), the preparation for the consecration rituals began. These were performed the following month within the framework of an extended fire ritual lasting twelve days and eleven nights. The renovation was concluded in May 1595.

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[35] The inscription has been published in *Saṃskṛta-sandeśa* (Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Jñānamaṇi Nepāl: "Kāntipureśvarasya śrīśivasiṃhasya samayasya svayambhūsthaḥ śilālekhaḥ," vol. 2, *aṅka* 4-6 [1954/55], pp. 46-49) and in Regmi 1965-1966: vol. 4, inscription no. 29, pp. 46-51).

[36] Lines 16 *et seq.*: *yilas thāṅ saṃvat 714 māgha śukla pañcamī*; line 31: *samvat 724(!) māghaśukla pañcamī thvakuhnu yilasi thāṅā*|.

There are in the case of both renovations mistakes in the dates given. As for the earlier renovation, the month and day have been erroneously taken over from the erection of the *yaṣṭi* nine years later (see *thyāsaphū* 9,1f.). As for the later renovation, the dates given for the erection of the *yaṣṭi* and for the consecration of the *caitya* accord with the mentioned *thyāsaphū* (28,5) as far as the month and day are concerned but differ by one year. For a variety of reasons it is likely that the *thyāsaphū* records the correct year, viz. 723 and 724 respectively. This is confirmed by a further manuscript (NGMPP G 220/21: 5r3) attesting the date given in the *thyāsaphū*. Possibly, the inscription mistakenly placed these events one year late in analogy with the years 714 and 715 of the renovation nine years before.

[37] Lines 27 *et seq.*: *samvat 715 vaiśākha kṛṣṇa pañcamī śukravāra kṛṣṇa pañcamī mūlanakṣatra thvakuhnu jimaninhu lakṣāhuti yajña pratiṣṭhā yāṅā* | ; line 31 *et seq.*: *saṃvat 725(!) māgha śukla pañcamī vṛhaspativāra thvakuhnu, picā ṅanhu yajña sahitanaṃ pratiṣṭhā yāṅā*. . . .

As mentioned in the preceding footnote, the dating of the consecration of the later renovation is off by exactly one year.

After the Svayambhūcaitya was struck by lightning shortly afterwards (the precise date is not recorded), the renovation of the *caitya* started all over again less than six years later. For this a new tree for the *yaṣṭi* was felled in the month of Caitra NS 721 (≈ April 1601) in the vicinity of Kapilāsa, close to the confluence of the Tādī and Likhu rivers, and the *yaṣṭi* was immediately dragged part of the way towards Svayambhū. Transport was resumed the following year in Māgha (≈ February 1602) by people from Kathmandu recruited by neighbourhoods (see below). Only five months later, in Āṣāḍha (≈ July 1602), the divine essence was extracted. The dismantling of the *caitya* and the subsequent raising of the new *yaṣṭi*, which was accomplished on the 5th day of the waxing fortnight ("bright half") of Māgha (≈ February 1603), took seven months, that is, five months longer than during the preceding renovation. The next entry records that the extended consecration was completed exactly one year later (i.e. ≈ February 1604) with a fire ritual that lasted five days and four nights. The fifth day of the bright half of Māgha, the so-called Śrīpañcamī day marking the start of spring, was chosen as a particularly auspicious day.[38] At the next renovation in 1640, the consecration rituals were timed in such a way that they, too, finished on that very day.

The main burden of the twin renovations was borne by a single sponsor of Kathmandu (and his family), a certain "*śākyabhikṣu* Jayarakṣa," from Jāmbunadavana Vihāra (= Pinchemṃ Bāhāl *alias* Khuṃ Bāhāl) in Votu. He was in charge of the renovations "on orders" of the king Śivasiṃha, of whom he was supposedly a friend.[39] Jayarakṣa must have been very affluent and active because he features in another extensive inscription[40] (under the name Jayaharṣa[41])—together with his wife, two sons and their families—as the donor who sponsored the entire construction of the Jāmbunadavana Vihāra at the end of the 16th century.

The inscription and *thyāsaphū* attest that in addition to Jayarakṣa and his family, large parts of the Buddhist population of Kathmandu became involved, contributing towards the twin renovations of Svayambhū, for example, by the sponsorship of specific parts of the *caitya*, by their labour—no doubt basically voluntary (*śramadāna*)—by acting as caretakers of certain rituals, and by providing the necessary materials. Without specifying which locality assumed responsibility for which task, the inscription (ll. 36-42) lists the contributing localities, arranging them into six groups according to their provinience within Kathmandu, viz. 1) Votu Bāhāl and Kel, 2) Asan and Naḥghal, 3) Itum Bāhāl, Makhan, Vaṃgal (i.e. the locality of Indrachowk) and Yatkhā, 4) (the other?) "half of Vaṃgal," Sikhaṃmuguḍi, Sārache,[42] Gāvache[43] and Gvārapasal,[44] 5) Vaṃ Bāhāl, and 6) Lagan.[45]

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[38] Even in present times, this day is considered to be particularly favourable for major rituals. Thus the consecration concluding the establishment of a *caitya* set up in 1998 in Kathmandu (a process which I have documented in my article "The Stūpa in Vajrayāna Buddhism" published in the preceding issue of this journal) was completed on the Śrīpañcamī day of the year 2000. (The consecration was delayed for so long because a member of the patrons' family had passed away in autumn 1998, so that for one year major rituals could not be commissioned by the family.)

[39] So Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Jñānamaṇi Nepāla in their commentary (as in fn. 32, p. 49) on the inscription.

[40] This inscription is published in Regmi 1965-1966: vol. 4, 37-44.

[41] The identity of Jayaharṣa and Jayarakṣa is borne out by the Svayambhū inscription and by the inscription commemorating the donation of Jāmbunadavana Vihāra. In these two inscriptions the wife, two sons, daughters-in-law and grandchildren of "Jayarakṣa" (Svayambhū inscription, l. 35f., 44f., Jāmbunadavana inscription, lines 11-14) and of "Jayaharṣa" (Jāmbunadavana inscription, ll. 20-22, 42-46) are variously listed under their personal names. As all names are identical, Jayaharṣa, should be the same person as Jayarakṣa, a conclusion which John Locke (1985: 505) shares.

The *thyāsaphū*, by contrast, provides detailed information about the way in which these localities contributed towards the twin renovations. To start with, it records that the *yaṣṭi* was pulled towards Svayambhū by the people of Kathmandu organized into groups by locality. In the earlier renovation there were five localities ("the area above the fish stone,"[46] Asan, Votu, Makhan and Maru), which each took a turn of six days and five nights during which their people went out and provided the manpower for the *yaṣṭi*'s transport. In the case of the later renovation there were seven (or possibly eight) localities—viz. Manasu Bāhāl (?), Jyātha Bāhāl, Taṃmugali, Hnūgal, Kohiti, Mājhipāt and Yalākṣa—that took turns pulling the *yaṣṭi*.

While the transport of the *yaṣṭi* by the people of Kathmandu is recorded for both renovations, the *thyāsaphū* details the subsequent contribution of labour only for the earlier renovation, probably because (unlike the composition of the groups pulling the *yaṣṭi*) the pattern of participation at the renovation completed nine years later did not deviate significantly. It is related (for the earlier renovation) that not only the *yaṣṭi*, but also the wood for making 32 poles each five cubits in length (which were needed for the fabrication of the rings and possibly also the *chattra*) was transported by the people of Kathmandu to the top of Svayambhū (presumably from the slopes of the hillock where the wood for the *chattra* is cut, according to the testimony of the other Newar chronicles). The text adds that as for the work for the *cakra*s, half was done by Yaṃbu, that is, by the people from upper Kathmandu, a quarter by the people of Vaṃ Bāhāl, and a further quarter by the people of Maru (8,2-4).

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[42] Sārache (lit: 'house of the mill for pressing oil') is presumably located just south of Gāvache in the neighbourhood behind the Kumārī Bāhāl where even now an oil-press is located.

[43] Gāvache is presumably modern Gvāchemugal, located in the lane behind Kumārī Bāhāl.

[44] Gvārapasal is located in the vicinity of Athako Nārāyaṇa in Sikhaṃmuguḍi. Cf. the "address" *śrīyaṃgrakāṣṭhamaṇḍapanagare gvārapaśra athako yaṃtāche* of Rāmalakṣmana Bhāro recorded in a document from A.D. 1650 which was published as document 50 (p. 39) by Mahes Raj Pant (1998) in a recent collection of 75 hitherto unpublished documents. In the same publication (p. 56) another document confirms that Gvārapasal is situated close to the Athako Nārāyaṇa of Sikhaṃmuguḍi. This is, moreover, confirmed by a document (p. 47) which had been published by Mahes Raj Pant (1996) in his essay on the "Nevarājya ra Brāhmaṇa."

[45] This list of participants follows immediately upon the record of the consecration sealing the later renovation, and—as circumstantial evidence corraborates—refers, therefore, specifically to this rather than to the earlier renovation. However, at the end of the inscription (ll. 50-52) another list composed of largely the same localities is given. Presumably it summarizes the pattern of contributing localities that underlay the twin renovations as a whole. At any rate, the six groups of localities listed in the inscription (36-42) and adduced here not only contributed towards the later renovation, but—as the *thyāsaphū* bears out (see below)—were also instrumental in bringing about the earlier renovation.

[46] The locality north of Asan, which is also called Thathu Pučn and is traditionally known by this name as one of the four parts of Kathmandu (cf. Locke 1985: 254).

Not only the *cakrāvalī*, but also the other parts of the *caitya* were rebuilt by the united efforts of the inhabitants of Kathmandu. The *thyāsaphū* relates that for "building up the new dome, (the people from) Votu Bāhāl spent an entire day, then (those) from Maru spent an entire day, and then in cooperation (those from) Vaṃ Bāhāl, Lagan and Bhote Bāhāl (spent an entire day[?])" (9,7-10,1). Then when "building up the *harmikā*, (the people from) Votu Bāhāl, Itum Bāhāl, Maru, Lagan and Vaṃ Bāhāl built part by part" (10,2f.). The four niches set into the dome were reconstructed by individual sponsors: "The *śākya* Śrī Dharma-ju from Pitache of Votu Bāhāl had the niche of the main side made (= the eastern side with Amitābha)" (11,2), and "Bhona from Bhilāche had the niche of Vasigāl made (= the niche of Amoghasiddhi on the northern side with the *nāga* pool called Vasigāl)" (11,2f.). "Together with his nephew Jñānaju, the *śākya* Śrī Jinasiṃha-ju from Bhote Bāhāl of Yaṃgal had (the niche at the place) where one looks down made (i.e. the niche of Akṣobhya on the eastern side, atop the steep staircase, affording the look down on Kathmandu)" (11,3f.). Finally, "having had it manufactured in Bhaktapur, the *śākya* Śri Jayaharṣa-ju from Vaṃ Bāhāl had (the niche) of Ratnasambhava made (on the southern side)" (11,4f.). Further below the text relates (14,7-15,1) that the statues of Amitābha, Akṣobhya and Ratnasambhava were gilded respectively by the people of Asan, by ethnic Tibetans (*saṃjapanī*) from "Rarija" (?)[47] and by "the owner"[48] from Vaṃ Bāhāl, that is, possibly, by the mentioned Jayaharṣa who had already sponsored the niche for Ratnasambhava.

The text also records that gold and copper were donated by the people. It specifies that "inside the *garbha* a silver vessel was inserted which contained only gold. As for the (silver) vessel, it was made from the (silver) ornaments of the (Svayambhū) god (that were melted down for this purpose); as for the inserted gold it was (given) by all the people" (11,5f.). Also inserted were copper vessels, one of which "was donated by the whole town (*deśa*), one by (the people from) Jhurachu[49] and one by (the people from) Yaulaṃṣu[50]" (11,6f.). Moreover, "as for the copper for covering the *yaṣṭi*, it was (given) by all" (11,7-12,1).

Again the extended consecration with a *homa* ritual lasting for 12 days and 11 nights (*ahorātra*) that sealed the renovation was taken care of collectively by the people of Kathmandu. While the priests were the same *daśadigācārya*s throughout, the responsibility for providing the *pūjā* materials and "taking care" (*citā yāka*) of the organization of the exterior aspects of the rituals was assumed turn by turn by different groups of the population (this duty may have included the actual act of putting the various offerings into the fire by command of the priests). On the first day and night of the *homa* ritual, which coincided with the ritual birth of the deity *(jātakarman)*, the caretaker from Votu Bāhāl, the *dānapati* Jayarakṣa, assumed responsibility on behalf of the king, who was formally in charge of this day (12,7-13,1).[51] The people from Lagan took care of the next 24 hours when the rite of bestowing sight (*dṛṣṭidāna*) upon the deity was performed (13,1f.). For the third day and night it was the turn of the people of Vaṃ Bāhāl to tend to the *homa* (New.: *mi chuya*) (13,2f.). On the fourth day, when the name-giving rite was performed, the people from Bhote Bāhāl took over; in the night the people from Sāracha looked after the *homa*. The people of Sikhaṃmuguḍi served on the fifth day and night, when the rite of the first feeding of fruit (*phalaprāśana*) was performed. The sixth day, which saw the first feeding of rice (*annaprāśana*), was attended to by the people from Gvālapasala; that night Jina Bhāro of Gaṇṭhiche was in charge. The people from Makhan and Daṃdache[52] functioned as caretakers on the seventh day and night, when the ritual tearing of the throat (*kaṇṭha khuya*)[53] was performed (13,7). On the eighth day and night, featuring the rite of tonsure *(cūḍākaraṇa)*, it was the turn of the people from Itum Bāhāl and the adjacent locality of Nyeta (13,7-14,1). The people of Votu Bāhāl were on duty on the ninth day and night during which the ritual of imposing the vows *(vratādeśa)* was carried out for the deity (14,1f.). On the tenth day and night in which the last rite of passage, namely the wedding (*pāṇigrahaṇa*) fell, the people of Kel did duty (14,2f.). For the next 24 hours of the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual for the firm establishment of the deity, the people of Asan and Naḥghal rendered service (14,3f.). Finally, on the last day, the people of Votu Bāhāl once again acted as caretakers, attending to the *abhiṣekas* bestowed upon the deity as well as to the concluding rituals (14,5). Thus, "the consecration of Svayambhū was accomplished by (all) these people collectively."[54]

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[47] I have not been able to identify this place-name.

[48] The term "owner" (*thuoā-panisem̩*) is also used in the chronicle by Cakrapāṇi (NGMPP Reel No. E 1874/2: 41v4).

[49] Is Jhurachu identical with Jarunche in Asan?

[50] Again, I have not been able to identify this locality.

Though the collective character of the renovation is attested in this way, the *thyāsaphū* does not fail to highlight the leading role in the consecration played by the principal sponsor of the renovation, namely Jayarakṣa (*alias* Jayaharṣa as he is referred to here [see fn. 41]). Thus it records that "the venerable Jayaharṣa bore the burden of whatever the people could not (provide) collectively" for the consecration ritual (17,2), and of the *pūjā* materials furnished in the name of the king (17,3f.). As mentioned, it also stresses the personal engagement of Jayarakṣa in this context, relating that he observed a fast together with the priests throughout the *ahorātra* ritual (17,3).

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[51] The text does not specify here that it was Jayarakṣa who acted on behalf of the king. However, in line 50 of the inscription Jayarakṣa is explicitly identified as the king's caretaker, and below in the *thyāsaphū* (17,2-4) it is specified that Jayaharṣa (= Jayarakṣa) provided the items for the *ahorātra yajña* on behalf of the king. That Jayaharṣa is identified as the caretaker of the king bears out that the donor generally functioned on the orders of the king, who was ultimately in charge.

[52] Daṃdache (lit.: 'house of punishment') could refer to a neighbourhood with a police station (*daṃdachem*). It may have been located close to Makhan Bāhāl, so that the police station then would have been in the same area as the present central police station in Hanumān Ḍhokā.

[53] I have dealt with this little-known ritual in my forthcoming study.

[54] *Thyāsaphū* (NGMPP Reel No. E 1874/2), 14,5f.: *thvatena loka, samastasyaṃ, . . . pratiṣṭhā sidhayakā juro*.

In this way the *thyāsaphū* provides a lively picture of how the various localities and segments of the Buddhist population of Kathmandu, led by Jayarakṣa, accomplished the renovation at the end of the 16th century together, starting with the transport of the *yaṣṭi*, continuing with the rebuilding of the *caitya* and with fitting it with the niches, and concluding with the final, and from a ritual point of view most important, part of the renovation, namely the extended consecration of the rebuilt *caitya*. The renovation was thus accomplished by the united efforts of a large segment of the people of Kathmandu, without any outside help. The absence of outside involvement is confirmed indirectly by the lack of any reference to the twin renovations in Tibetan sources.

The four renovations (and to a lesser degree also the fifth renovation) following upon the twin renovations were organized according to the same pattern, with the king being formally in charge, and with the populace—organized according to localities—assuming responsibility for specific parts of the *caitya*, contributing labour, notably for the transport of the *yaṣṭi*, and taking care of certain rituals. However, only the renovations completed in 1638, 1683 and 1712 were, like the twin renovations, completed without direct participation by Tibetans (or Bhutanese). Moreover, unlike the twin renovations the renovations completed in 1683, 1758 and 1817 were co-funded by Tibetans (and Bhutanese). Thus the twin renovations (and the renovations completed in 1638 and 1712) stand out as renovations that were largely, if not exclusively, Newar undertakings.

10) The renovation from 1636 to 1640

Only some 32 years later, in the reign (≈ 1619-1641) of King Lakṣmīnarasiṃha Malla the Svayambhūcaitya was yet again completely renovated.[55] There is a detailed account in a *thyāsaphū* kept in the private collection of Yagyamanpati Bajracarya (to which the references given in this section refer).[56] It attests to the same pattern of collective sponsorship by localities and groups from Kathmandu as the aforementioned *thyāsaphū* on the twin renovations, and furnishes interesting details on how the transport of the new *yaṣṭi* from the valleys north of Śivapuri ridge was organized by localities. It also relates that the king welcomed the *yaṣṭi* when it reached the periphery of Kathmandu, and that on this occasion the younger king (*merahma juju*) joined the procession (1,4f.). This refers to

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[55] Shakya (1978/9: 180) reports that the *caitya* was renovated because the *yaṣṭi* had become seriously impaired by bad weather and was leaning to one side. However, in the absence of access to Shakya's source (see below fn. 58) it is not possible to verify this account.

[56] I am most grateful to Yagyamanpati Bajracharya who generously gave of his valuable time so that I could read in his residence in Kuleswor this and the other relevant texts in his precious collection.

Lakṣmīnarasiṃha Malla and his son Pratāpa Malla, who at that time had taken over much of the royal power from his father.[57]

The beginning of the *thyāsaphū* is missing, so that there are no dates on the felling and transport of the *yaṣṭi*. However, we learn (p. 1 of the preserved text) that the localities of Makhan, Itum Bāhāl, Lagan, Vaṃ Bāhāl, Asan, Naḥghal, Votu Bāhāl and Kel (and possibly further neighbourhoods that may be mentioned on the lost page[s]) joined hands in the transport of the *yaṣṭi*. The first date provided in the preserved text is the 10th day of the bright half of Phālguna (≈ March) in 1637, when the *caitya* was deconsecrated after the new *yaṣṭi* had arrived atop Svayambhū (pp. 2,6-3,1). Within less than two months the *caitya* was dismantled and the old *yaṣṭi* extracted (p. 3,1-6). Already by the 3rd day of the bright half of Vaiśākha NS 757 (≈ May 1637) the new *yaṣṭi* had been erected (pp. 3,6-4,1).[58] The rebuilding of the *caitya*, by contrast, was drawn out over the next 14 months. Only in the bright half of Jyeṣṭha (≈ June 1638) of the next year was the uppermost of the thirteen rings and the superstructure above installed (pp. 7,4-8,3). In this context the chronicle (pp. 5-7) specifies that each ring was sponsored by a specific group. With minor deviations (with which I have dealt in my mentioned thesis) the same allocation of rings is also attested for all subsequent renovations until the renovation completed in 1817. In ascending order the rings were generally sponsored by 1) Votu Bāhāl, 2) Maru, 3) Makhan Bāhāl and Musuṃ (and a certain Bherache), 4) Asan and Naḥghal, 5) Sikhaṃmuguḍi, 6) Vaṃ Bāhāl, 7) Itum

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[57] Though *merahma* may mean "younger brother," it is unlikely that *merahma juju* refers to the younger half-brother of Lakṣmīnarasiṃha Malla, namely Siddhinarasiṃha Malla, the famous king of Patan. The inscription of the Kṛṣṇa temple in Patan, which dates from the same time (≈ March 1637), records that Siddhinarasiṃha Malla had been engaged in fighting. Since this refers presumably to attacks by Pratāpa Malla who, being the son of Lakṣmīnarasiṃha Malla, had by that time become largely de facto ruler, it is unlikely that Siddhinarasiṃha Malla came to Kathmandu in order to participate in the celebrations for the newly arrived *yaṣṭi*. Besides, the sources I have studied bear no evidence that the rulers of Patan took part in any of the renovations of Svayambhū. Hence, *merahma* should mean here not "younger brother," but simply "younger one," a meaning attested in *A Dictionary of Classical Newari* (Malla 2000: s.v.). Accordingly, *merahma juju* should refer here to the "junior king," who cannot have been anybody but Pratāpa Malla. D. R. Regmi (1965-1966: vol. 2, 59f.) adduces further material to prove that by 1637 Pratāpa Malla was ruling jointly with his father.

[58] This date is confirmed in a handwritten copy (prepared by Ratna Kaji Bajracarya) of a short and selective chronology of events concerning the Svayambhūcaitya, written in NS 1037 (A.D. 1916/7) by a *bare* from Seṃgu by the name of Ratnadhana.

For his account of the renovation treated here, Hemraj Shakya (1978/9: 180) did not use the aforementioned chronicle belonging to Yagyamanpati Bajracarya. Instead, he cites as his source an inscription which reportedly used to stand at Pinche Bāhāl (= Jāmbunanda vihāra) in Wotu Ṭol in Kathmandu, but is no longer in situ (nor does its present whereabouts seem to be known). Without specifying volume or page number, Hemraj Shakya (*ibid.*) gives as further reference the journal *Saṃskṛta-sandeśa*. However, despite the best efforts of Dinesh Raj Pant (one of the editors of this magazine) and myself (we went through all the fascicles page by page), we could not find this inscription in *Saṃskṛta-sandeśa*. The inscription has also not been published in the above-mentioned *Kāntipura-Śilālekha-Sūcī*. Whatever the precise details of Hemraj Shakya's source, it is clearly closely related to the account in Ratnadhana's chronology. It records the same sponsor for the renovation (see below) and, again like the summary, only one date, namely the 3rd day of the bright half of Vaiśākha NS 537. However, this date is not correlated with the erection of the *yaṣṭi*, but (an oversight?) to the final consecration of the renovated *caitya* (*ibid.*).

Bāhāl, 8) Lagan, 9) again Asan and Naḥghal, 10) again Lagan, 11) again Votu Bāhāl, 12) Seṃgu and 13) the King of Kathmandu, who was—fittingly—responsible for the highest and hence most prestigious ring. In July, three weeks after work on the superstucture was concluded, the four Buddha statues and the finials for their niches were set up after they had been taken around town in a procession with lamps and various kinds of music and dances (pp. 8,3-9,5). Two days later, on the 10th day of the waxing fortnight of Āṣāḍha (≈ July 1638), the divine essence was transferred from its temporary abode in the *nyāsaghaṭa* back into the *caitya* (pp. 9,5-10,3). Exactly 16 months earlier the *nyāsa* had been removed from the *caitya*. Another 17 months elapsed before preparations began in the month of Mārgaśiras of NS 760 (≈ December 1639) for the extended consecration rites (pp. 11,1-12,3). These were completed, as during the preceding renovation, on the auspicious 5th day of the bright lunar half of Māgha (≈ February 1640) with a fire ritual of one hundred thousand oblations (*lakṣāhuti*) lasting 12 days and 11 nights (pp. 12,4-14,3).

Like the other chronicles, the *thyāsaphū* does not record who sponsored the renovation. There is, however, a largely effaced inscription at Svayambhū commemorating the renovation being treated here.[59] It apparently records that the sponsors (*dānapati*) were three persons, namely the king Lakṣmīnarasiṃha Malla, his son, the aforementioned junior king Pratāpa Malla and a certain °Candra Bhāro (the first part of the name is obliterated). In contrast, the aforementioned (fn. 58) chronology by Ratnadhana records that the *dānapati* was a certain *śākyabhikṣu* Mañjudeva from Svayambhū, with his wife and son. This has been reproduced by Hemraj Shakya in his *Mahācaitya* (p. 180). However, traditionally members of that community (i.e. the *bare*s from Svayambhū who are nowadays called *buddhācārya*s) are not among the affluent traders. Hence, it is very unlikely that one member of their community could have been rich enough to shoulder the immense expense of a complete renovation of the *caitya*. The information given by Ratnadhana has thus to be discounted in the face of the inscriptional evidence. It is, nevertheless, conceivable that Mañjudeva was one of possibly several sponsors beyond the three main *dānapati*s who was singled out by Ratnadhana because he belonged to his own community, and possibly was even a direct forebear. At any rate, as follows from the traditional sponsorship of parts of the *caitya* as well as of certain rituals by sections of the population of Kathmandu, not all of the costs and burden of the renovation were borne by the three main sponsors. As in the case of the preceding twin renovations, there is no trace of Tibetan involvement in the Newar sources, and there are to my knowledge no Tibetan sources bearing witness to this renovation. Thus the renovation dealt with here was an exclusively Newar undertaking in much the same way as the twin renovations some decades earlier.

11) The partial renovation of the Svayambhūcaitya undertaken by the Sixth Zhva-dmar-pa in 1629/30

Because of the prominence of the chronicle published by Wright, short reference has to be made to its record that in NS 770 (1649/50 A.D.) the "Syāmarpa Lāmā came from Bhoṭ and renewed the *garbha-kāth* of Svayambhū (the main timber round which the mound is built) and gilt the images of the deities" (Wright: 215; p. 131 of the Cambridge manuscript, which confirms the term *garbhakāth*). If this was true then the *caitya* would have undergone a further complete renovation barely ten years after the consecration in 1640. However, the chronicle of Wright is wrong here on two counts. Firstly, Gar-dbang chos-kyi dbang-phyug (1584-1630), the Sixth Zhva-dmar rin-po-che, did not come to Svayambhū in NS 770, but twenty years earlier in NS 750 (1629/30). Secondly, as Brag-dkar rta-so relates (*op. cit.*, 18a), the Zhva-dmar-pa did not renovate the Svayambhūcaitya in its entirety. Rather, he limited himself to the embellishment of the niches set in the cardinal directions in the dome. This report is confirmed by the aforementioned *thyāsaphū* with the reel no. E 1874/2 (22f.) which records that in 1630 (NS 750) the Zhva-dmar-pa donated golden (that must of course be gilt) shields (*toraṇa*) for the four niches.[60] If we follow Oldfield (1880: vol. 2, 222) he also " covered the . . . spire with plates of copper-gilt, and crowned it with a gilt pinnacle and chattra." Though Oldfield relates that the Zhva-dmar-pa "thoroughly repaired the whole temple" (*ibid.*), there is no mention of the replacement of the *yaṣṭi*. At any rate, the reliability of Oldfield's report is variously subject to doubt.

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[59] The inscription has been published in *Kāntipura-Śilālekha-Sūcī* (ed. Śaṅkaramāna Rājavaṃśī) on pp. 65f.

12) The renovation from 1681 to 1683

For the next renovation we have the testimony of both Tibetan and Newar sources. To start with, there is the aforementioned *dkar-chag* published by Turrell Wylie. Ehrhard (1991: 11-13) has studied this text and provides the following details: Rang-rig ras-pa (d. 1683), a yogi of the 'Brug-pa bka'-brgyud-pa school who hailed from Spiti, had some funds left over when he finished his repair work of the *stūpa* of Bauddha. He offered the remaining 32 ounces of gold to the king Pārthivendra Malla with the request to finance with this the renovation of Svayambhū which had become necessary in "connection with the statues of the four cardinal directions" (*ibid.*). In the following year, before any efforts to start with the renovation had got under way, the *yaṣṭi* "broke and tilted to the left" (*ibid.*). The Newar sources known to me do not record that the *yaṣṭi* was impaired. However, it is attested in various sources that in February 1680 (NS 800 Phālguna *kṛṣṇa* 5) "a mad man went up to the top of the stūpa at Syeṅgu . . . at the night, and dismantling the pinnacle along with the *chuḍāmaṇi* (*sic*) let it down."[61] Though a rite of begging for forgiveness was performed nine days later, it is possible that this act of desecration had marred the *caitya* so much that its renewal was on this count (or, *also* on this count, if the Tibetan source is right about the impaired *yaṣṭi*) considered necessary.

According to Wylie's *dkar-chag* (see Ehrhard 1991: 12) the renovation could only get under way after the god Gaṇapati had communicated to the king the whereabouts of a treasure of gold, which was duly unearthed. Thus Gaṇapati is credited with assuring the material means for the current renovation just as he is for the renovations carried out by gTsang-smyon before and Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu afterwards (see below). A closely related episode is recounted in Hemraj Shakya's *Mahācaitya* (p. 217).[62] During the renovation potters went to fetch clay for the repair work of Svayambhū. As they were digging for clay, they unearthed two golden pitchers, which were subsequently brought in a big procession to the palace where they were welcomed by the royal family. Though it is not said that these pitchers were later used for the renovation, it seems to be implied that—in accordance with the Tibetan version—they were not simply added to the royal coffers. The story suggests that funds of local provenance were used for the renovation in addition to the gold donated by Rang-rig ras-pa. At any rate, the detailed account of the renovation, recorded in a further *thyāsaphū* kept in the private collection of Yagyamanpati Bajracarya, bears witnesses that, as during the three preceding renovations, the rings and other specific parts of the *caitya* were sponsored by certain neighbourhoods from Kathmandu. Likewise, localities "took care" of rituals, notably at the final consecration, providing the necessary materials and helpers.

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[60] See also Śākya 1978/79: 172.

[61] The quote is taken from Regmi (1965-1966: vol. 2, 114), who gives *thyāsaphū* A as his source. The same event is recorded, in what may be identical wording, in the Sako chronicle (fol. 14b). This incident is, moreover, with slightly deviating date, attested in Regmi's *thyāsaphū* D (*ibid.*, p. 117).

In 1681 the renovation of the Svayambhūcaitya got under way.[63] The date is attested in the mentioned *thyāsaphū* (to which the references in the following refer), in the Sako chronicle and in yet another *thyāsaphū* (NGMPP Reel No. E 1744/2) which deals independently and very briefly, on two pages, with the renovation treated here, recording the dates of the major stages of repair work.[64] Some two and a half months after the felling, on the 7th day of the waning fortnight ("dark half")—according to the Sako chronicle (16b/17a) on the 9th day—of Caitra (≈ April) the divine essence of the *caitya* was extracted (6,5f.). After the deconsecration, it took three weeks before one began to dismantle the uppermost part of the *caitya*. When the bowl-shaped crystal was taken down in May 1681 the two kings (*juju nihma*) came for *darśan* (7,2). Besides Pārthivendra Malla this was presumably his younger brother Mahīpatendra.[65] At that time the two surviving sons of Pratāpa Malla were still so close to each other that two and a half months later in August they went together on pilgrimage to Gosāiṃkuṇḍa.[66]

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[62] Regrettably, Hemraj Shakya does not specify on which source he is drawing here.

[63] According to the *dkar-chag* published by Wylie (Ehrhard 1991: 12), the renovation was completed with the reconsecration in 1680. However, this date must be too early. Pārthivendra Malla only came to the throne in 1680. By the logic of the account in the *dkar-chag*, however, Pārthivendra Malla should already have been king in the year before the *yaṣṭi* broke, when he had—surely as king—received the 32 ounces of gold from Rang-rig ras-pa for the renovation. Hence the dating of the *dkar-chag* has to be dismissed in favour of the Newar sources which unanimously record that the renovation was undertaken from 1681 to 1683 (see below).

[64] Hemraj Shakya also deals with the renovation here in *Mahācaitya* (p. 217). However, his account comes across as a stereotypical description which does not refer to one particular renovation. Presumably, his source (to which I had no access), namely a *thyāsaphū* from the private collection of Jīvaguru who was the *thakāli* at Svayambhū in the 1970s, provides no details of the renovation work, except one date (see below), so that Hemraj Shakya may have filled in this gap by the generic sketch.

[65] The form "Mahīpatīndra" is not attested. Rather, other documents and even a coin (see Walsh 1908: iv, 1) confirm the spelling "Mahīpatendra."

[66] See Regmi 1965-1966: vol. 2, 124.

After the dismantling of the rings, which is not recorded, there was a gap of several months before work resumed, and one started to take apart the *harmikā*, on the 2nd day of the New Year (NS 802 Kārtika *śukla* 2; ≈ November 1681) (7,6-8,1). It is not clear whether this unusual delay is related to the earthquake that shook the Valley according to the chronicle (7,3f.) in the night of the 8th day of the waxing fortnight of Jyeṣṭha (≈ June 1681). After the *harmikā* had been dismantled and the *yaṣṭi* protruding from the dome had been cut, the dome began to be dismantled on the 10th day of the same fortnight. Surprisingly, already less than a week later, on the 1st day after full moon (i.e., NS 802, Kārtika *kṛṣṇa* 1; ≈ November 1681), the new *yaṣṭi* was raised (17,1f.). This date is confirmed in the short account,[67] and apparently is also recorded in Hemraj Shakya's source (albeit wrongly correlated to the consecration at the end).[68] It is also surprising that according to the chronicle only in the dark fortnight of Mārgaśiras (≈ December 1681), more than one month after the *yaṣṭi*'s establishment, work continued with the rebuilding of the dome and *harmikā* (17,6-18,1). Afterwards work on the *caitya* itself halted again for more than three months, until in the bright fortnight of Caitra (≈ April 1682) work began on setting up the thirteen rings. Progress in between was apparently disrupted by the death of a *bare* and the self-immolation of his wife (*satī*) in the month of Pauṣa (≈ January 1682) (17,2f.). Within the next four weeks all thirteen rings—and subsequently the superstructure above—were installed atop the *caitya* (18,2-20,5).

Some two weeks later, on the 8th day of the dark half Vaiśākha (≈ May 1682), the installation of the four Buddha statues began. First the king—apparently in the presence of his younger brother Mahīpatendra—put in place with his own hand the diagram with the *mantras* empowering the statues. On the next day, they were taken in palanquins in a procession around town (*deśayātrā*). On the following day (i.e. the 10th), the statues were established in their niches in the dome. The very next day, the *chattra* was affixed atop the *caitya* and duly consecrated in the presence of the king (14,2-16,6).[69] A little less than a month later, on the 8th day of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha (≈ June 1682), after the finials had been installed atop the *caitya* and above the four niches in the dome, the divine essence was transferred from its temporal abode back into the newly rebuilt *caitya* (22,2-24,2). Nearly half a year later, on the 4th day of the month of Mārgaśiras, NS 803 (≈ December 1682), the final consecration ceremonies were initiated with the entreaty of the gurus (*guru adhyeṣaṇa*) to perform the necessary rituals. As the briefer account (E 1744/2: fol. 45) and the Sako chronicle (fol. 17a) record,[70] these rituals were, as customary, performed in the framework of a *lakṣāhuti* lasting for 12 days and 11 nights, from the 7th day of the dark half of Māgha to the 3rd day of the bright half of Phālguna (February/March 1683).

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[67] The aforementioned *thyāsaphū* with the reel number E 1744/2, page 44 (pages are not paginated; my numbering of pages is in the sequence in which they were microfilmed).

[68] In Hemraj Shakya's account of the renovation here (1978/79: 217), only one date is reproduced, namely NS 802 Mārga(śiras) *kṛṣṇa* 1. It is conceivable that Shakya (or his source) renders *kacchalā* as *mārga* according to the *vikram saṃvat* system, where months have first a dark and then a bright fortnight. If so, *mārga* may be corrected to *kārtika* because the dating should follow the system of *nepāl saṃvat* where months have first a bright and then a dark fortnight. This date could then refer to the erection of the *yaṣṭi* as attested in the shorter and longer account utilized by me. At any rate, in light of the Newar sources presented by me, the date given by Hemraj Shakya can hardly relate to the final consecration of the rebuilt Svayambhūcaitya as his source apparently would have it.

[69] As major events in the process of recreating the Svayambhūcaitya, both the establishment of the Buddha statues and the offering of the *chattra* are attested not only in the chronicle but also in the shorter account (E 1744/2: 44,4f.).

13) The renovation commenced in 1710 during the reign of Bhāskara Malla

The Svayambhūcaitya was renovated again less than thirty years later, from 1710 onwards. Besides the previously mentioned drawing (see fn. 5) giving part by part the measurements of the *caitya* after the completion of the renovation in NS 832 (1712 A.D.) and in NS 937 (1817 A.D.), and besides a few other Newari sources that briefly refer to this renovation (see below), there is a Newari manuscript kept in the National Archives of Kathmandu (Acc. No. 3-270, NGMPP Reel No. B 100/22) with a lengthy account of this renovation that sheds light on many interesting details. (The citations in this section refer to this text.) However, neither this account nor the brief references deal with the background of the renovation. So it is not known why, and on whose initiative, the *caitya* was renovated again hardly thirty years later. The absence of references to this renovation in Tibetan sources suggests that this was again basically a Newar undertaking. This impression is also conveyed by the chronicle. To start with, it refers to Tibetans only once (158v4-159r2), namely when it tells how a group of lamas was fined because, disregarding the purity restrictions, they had gone inside the place where the *nyāsaghaṭa* of the Svayambhūcaitya was kept. Moreover, the chronicle testifies to the same pattern of collective participation and sponsorship that had been in place for the preceding four renovations. It also records how the queen mother Bhuvanalakṣmī and her adolescent son, the king Bhāskara Malla, keenly took part in many stages of the renovation and sponsored five new Buddha statues for the niches in the dome. In this light, it may be concluded that the burden of the renovation was borne collectively by the people of Kathmandu and the king and his mother. This does not preclude individual sponsors who contributed in a major way. However, given the absence of inscriptional or other supporting evidence to this effect, it seems unlikely that there was a principal donor in the way Jayarakṣa had been for the twin renovations.

The account of the chronicle begins in NS 830 in the month of Jyeṣṭha (≈ June 1710) with the ritual begging for forgiveness (154r1-3) and the subsequent extraction of the divine essence from the *caitya* (154r3-v1). One week later, at the beginning of Āṣāḍha (≈ July 1710), the *chattra* and crystal bowl were taken down (154v1f). Surprisingly, after this deconsecration, nothing happened with the *caitya* for 16 months until the wooden structure above the rings was taken down in NS 832 in the month of Kārtika (≈ November 1711) (155v8f.). Only after a further two months break did work start on the *caitya*, in the month of Pauṣa (≈ January 1712), when the bulk of the structure proceeded to be dismantled (155v9-156r4). Already a year before that, the tree for the *yaṣṭi* had been brought up to Svayambhū (arrival in Pauṣa NS 831; ≈ January 1711). In Āṣāḍha NS 831 (≈ July 1711), half a year after the tree had reached Svayambhū and half a year before real work on the *caitya* started, the fabrication of the new rings began (155r4-9).

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[70] The *thyāsaphū* of Yagyamanpati Bajracarya breaks off when recording the preparations.

It is startling that in the case of this renovation the divine essence was transferred a year and a half before work on the *caitya* itself started in earnest. As the other sources document, normally the *caitya* is deconsecrated only shortly before it is dismantled. This accords with concerns, as expressed in Hindu sources, that malevolent beings and forces may appropriate an empty shrine (as they may a dead corpse) and use it as a base to do harm. It is also unusual that an entire year elapsed after the arrival of the tree up at Svayambhū before the workers began to dismantle the solid structure of the *caitya* so as to replace the *yaṣṭi*. While this delay may have been due to a scarcity of funds or some other problems, I do not have an explanation for why the *caitya* was deconsecrated when building works were not imminent.

Once work began on the *caitya* in Pauṣa (≈ January 1712) progress was swift. Just a month later, on the 12th day of the bright half of Māgha (≈ February 1712), the new *yaṣṭi* was raised inside the largely dismantled dome (157r6-158r6). Within the next fortnight, the dome and *harmikā* were built up again (158r6-159r6). A month later the lowest ring was set up (159r6-v5). After a hiatus of six weeks the remaining twelve rings were installed in the month of Vaiśākha (≈ May 1712) (159v6-161r7). In the following month the *chattra* was—together with the crystal bowl which had been taken in a procession around town—established atop the *caitya* and consecrated (161v4-162r4, 162v2-4). Also in that month the four shields, one on each side above the *harmikā*, were put into place (162r4-162v2) and the finial fixed at the very top (162v4f.).

With the exception of the Buddha statues in the niches, the *caitya* was thus ready for reconsecration at the end of Jyeṣṭha (≈ late June 1712). Normally the statues are installed in the niches as the work on the *caitya* comes to a close, so that the divine essence can be transferred back into the newly rebuilt *caitya* without delay. If we ignore the year given in the chronicle this holds good in the present case, too. For new statues sponsored by the king and the queen mother were cast in the course of Vaiśākha and Jyeṣṭha (162v7-163v3f.), and then set up in the *caitya* at the beginning of the next month (Āṣāḍha) (163v9-164v3). Eight days later, as stated in the chronicle, the *caitya* was reconsecrated with the transference of the *nyāsa* (164v3-165r3). However, the chronicle dates the production of the statues and the reconsecration only to NS 833 (A.D. 1713), so that a gap of one year after the conclusion of the rebuilding of the *caitya* results. This dating cannot be checked by referring to the extended final reconsecration because this latter is not attested in any of my sources. But in a text published by Regmi as "*thyāsaphū* I" (1965-1966: vol. 4, 350) and in the chronicle by Ratnadhana (p. 3,3-8) it is related that in agreement with the account in the aforementioned manuscript (Reel No. B 100/22) that the new Buddha statues were installed at the beginning of Āṣāḍha in NS 833 (!). There is independent testimony to the fact that the *caitya* was renovated in the course of NS 832 (rather than 833), namely in the colophon of a text called "Kriyāsaṃgrahamata" (NGMPP E 1631/16, NA 1-1697). Despite this evidence I find it very difficult to believe that the fully rebuilt *caitya* was left standing empty for one year. As mentioned, I find it also implausible that the *caitya* was deconsecrated one and a half years before work really started. However, it is not easy to brush aside the evidence presented here. Hence, I cannot but conclude that the sources on the renovation begun in 1710 pose major riddles for which I do not have a ready solution.

14) The renovation carried out from 1751 to 1758 on the initiative of Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu

Less than fifty years later, the Svayambhūcaitya was renovated once again. This renovation stands out because after a series of renovations that were essentially Newar undertakings it was jointly accomplished by Tibetans and Newars, and because it is particularly well documented. The renovation was carried out on the initiative of the Tibetan rNying-ma-pa lama Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698-1755). This lama and his disciples (who assumed responsibility when he passed away) also supervised the renovation and apparently collected the necessary funds to pay for the gold, silver and copper for the superstructure of the *caitya*. This is recorded in the *rnam-thar* of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu· (see bibliography) and, partly, in the closely related inscription standing at Svayambhū at the entrance of the Mūrttisaṅgrahālaya museum.[71] As holds good also for other Tibetan sources, the biographer Brag-dkar rta-so sprul-sku Chos-kyi dbang-phyug (1775-1837) (whose teacher 'Phrin-las bdud-'joms was a disciple of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu) does not record the details of the rituals and building work. Instead, he draws a vivid picture of all the efforts undertaken by Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu, and in the process sheds light on the historical background of the renovation. The completion of the renovation by his disciples (after he had passed away) is also recorded. On the basis of this material Franz-Karl Ehrhard (1989) has given a useful summary of this renovation from the Tibetan perspective.

In addition to the *rnam-thar*, a number of Newar sources record this renovation. They attest that, despite the Tibetan involvement, it was carried out along the same lines as the other renovations from the end of the 16th century on (and presumably also before). To start with, there is an anonymous text (NGMPP Reel No. E 1743/3) that records the rituals performed in the course of the renovation in great detail. These ceremonies are also chronicled in a text (kept in the collection of Yagyamanpati Bajracarya) that was written by Vimalaprabhānanda, who functioned as the main priest at that renovation (hence I refer to this text as Vimalaprabhānanda's chronicle). It supplements the more detailed anonymous account, inasmuch as it records, unlike this latter text, the extended consecration at the end of the renovation. The third Newar text on this renovation was apparently written by a certain Svayambhūvajradeva (1736-1805) (hence I refer to it as Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle). He was the son of one of the priests involved, namely Ratnapatideva Bajracarya from Makhan Bāhāl, who was the royal priest when the new *yaṣṭi* was transported to Svayambhū, but who was then replaced by the above-mentioned Vimalaprabhānanda (who henceforth functioned as *rājgubhāju* for the renovation).[72] The text may have been composed some considerable time after the events it describes, given that—alas!—they are all undated.

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[71] The Newari portion of the bilingual inscription has been published by D. R. Regmi (1965-1966, vol. 4, 313-319). The Tibetan section has been published with a Nepali translation by Ramesh Dhungel (1988). I am in the process of preparing a complete translation (Newari and Tibetan) for publication.

Svayambhūvajradeva's account stands out because, unlike the other Newar sources which confine themselves to keeping a record of the rituals, it provides in addition valuable information on the background and circumstances under which the Svayambhūcaitya was renovated. Thus it recounts the threat posed by the troops of the Gorkha king Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha and the repulsion of an attack by them during the renovation. Moreover, it portrays Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu's role and his dealings with the king of Kathmandu Jayaprakāśa Malla who himself took direct control of the renovation. This point is of particular interest because in general the Newar and Tibetan sources on renovations of Svayambhū do not relate how the Tibetans and Newars interacted, and hardly make mention of each other. Rather, the Tibetan sources convey the impression that the Svayambhūcaitya is a Tibetan shrine, while in the Newar sources the Tibetan lamas feature marginally, if at all, as participants of little consequence.

The Tibetan and Newar sources, notably the *rnam-thar* and Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle, illuminate the background and setting in which the renovation in the reign of Jayaprakāśa Malla was carried out. They provide the kind of circumstantial information that is not available for the other renovations. Therefore, I will draw extensively on these sources when I deal with this renovation in the following. This will illustrate the kind of mechanisms, patterns and constellation of factors that can, to a varying degree, be presupposed also for other renovations of the Svayambhūcaitya.

After Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu had completed the renovation of the big *caitya* of Bauddha (known nowadays as Bodhnāth) located at the north-eastern outskirts of modern Kathmandu, he apparently resolved to renovate the Svayambhūcaitya as well (*rNam thar*, p. 261). A year later in 1748 he returned from Tibet to Kathmandu for the extended reconsecration rituals of Bodhnāth and met with the Eighth Situ Rinpoche Choṣ-kyi 'byung-gnas (1700-1774) (see Ehrhard 1989: 4). As Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle records (9,6-8), they went together to Svayambhū for *darśan*. There they saw that the *harmikā* above the dome had collapsed. They were told that the *caitya* had been for some time in this state of disrepair. Upon hearing this the two lamas went to see the king Jayaprakāśa Malla. They urged that Svayambhū be renewed, because to leave it as it was would be inauspicious for the whole world (*saṃsāra*) (9,8-10,2). Though this is not spelled out, they themselves clearly requested permission to renovate Svayambhū. After the two lamas had retired to the enchanting hill of Kimḍol south of Svayambhū (10,4), the king called a meeting with the leaders of the Buddhist community and presented them with the lamas' request. They pointed out that traditionally the different localities (*ṭol*) of Kathmandu had assumed responsibility (10,5), and that so far no renovation had been entrusted even to someone from Bhaktapur or Patan. Hence Tibetan lamas could, as before, only donate money, but not under any circumstances be given the right to renovate the *caitya* themselves (11,4f.). While it is true that at least the preceding five renovations were exclusively in the hands of the people of Kathmandu, this does not hold good for all times, and notably not for the renovation carried out by Heruka some 250 years before. The king conveyed the people's stance to the lamas, and it was settled that formally the king should be in charge and the populace should assume responsibility as before, while the lamas would be merely "helpers" (10,7-11,2). However, as follows not only from the Tibetan sources, but also from the account in Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle, Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu directed the renovation and was effectively in charge. But he kept in the background, while the Newar priests performed the rituals, the *bare*s of Seṃgu functioned as *jajmān*s and the various localities of Kathmandu assumed responsibility for the *caitya*'s parts and the rituals they traditionally took care of.

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[72] There is no colophon confirming the authorship of Svayambhūvajradeva. However, in parts of the text the author clearly assumes the perspective of Svayambhūvajradeva, using verbal forms indicative of the first person and referring to Ratnapatideva as "venerable father" (*abuju*) (e.g. 7,7).

Both the inscription and the *rnam-thar* (p. 258f.), but none of the Newar sources, report that "on an auspicious day (in 1751 [NS 871]) the *dharma* work (of renovating the *caitya*) was started. At that time the great gods Gaṇapati and Kumāra manifested themselves in their own form.[73] With the greatest devotion for the jewel-like abode (*sthānaratna*) of the blessed Tathāgata, they vowed to provide for gold and the other things required for carrying out the renovation of the Jewel that is the noble thrice-blessed Mahācaitya, so that it would not be necessary to seek (these required items elsewhere)."[74] Thereafter, so the narrative continues, Viṣṇu appeared, too, though in the form of a Brahman priest, and vowed that a suitable *yaṣṭi* for the Mahācaitya would be brought.[75] The inscription goes on to relate that both Jayaprakāśa Malla and Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha were moved by the appearance of the gods and their pledge to assist in the renovation. In turn the Malla king in a somewhat vague manner renewed his own resolve to support the project, while the Gorkha king vowed to provide the *yaṣṭi* and have it brought to Kathmandu.[76] In the *rnam-thar* and in Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle (22,5f.) it is recorded that Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu requested the Śāha king to provide the *yaṣṭi* for the Svayambhūcaitya.[77] For this king held the area of Nuwākoṭ (after his conquest of it in 1744), the only place suitable trees could be found in the vicinity of the Valley. The Gorkha king in his written answer had readily agreed to comply with this request. In his letter to the Dalai Lama bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho (1708-1757),[78] Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu reports that he also obtained the guarantee of the two kings to abstain from any fighting until the *yaṣṭi* had been procured. However, if there ever was such a promise it did certainly not stop the Gorkha and Malla kings from engaging in military conflict before and even during the renovation.

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[73] Gaṇeśa and Kumāra, the two sons of Śiva, are even now manifest in their respective shrines placed together along the staircase leading up to Svayambhū. There are other shrines of Gaṇeśa located on Svayambhū, but this Gaṇeśa is most important in the sense that it functions as *the* Gaṇeśa of the locality. As such it is also the place from which Gaṇeśa is "fetched" for all complex rituals performed at Svayambhū. Cf. the

[74] Inscription, lines 13 *et seqq.*: *sudinakuhnu dharmmayā jyā ārambha yāṅā verasa, mahādeva gaṇapati, kumāra, thvapani nihmasyenam, thao rupa, sadya kenāo, śrī tathāgatayā. sthānaratnayāta, atibhaktisardhā, āryya śrī 3 mahācaitya ratnayā jīrṇoddhāra yāyayāta ru ityādi māraguri vastuka māle mu mārakaṃ saṃyukta yāṅāo viyaguli bhārā kāyāo vacana vila*<.> (Note that here and in the following the reading of the double-underlined text is tentative only.)

As related above, at the outset of the renovation carried out some 250 years before, it was Gaṇapati and Viśvakarman (rather than Skandha) who manifested themselves to gTsang-smyon Heruka and pledged their help and support for the renovation.

[75] Inscription, line 14: *oguli kathanaṃ, vṛṣṇa, vrāhmanayā rūpa kāyāo, mahācaityayā, māhika* (?), *yaosi thathe coṅagu likāo dhaka, vacana vira..*

[76] Inscription, lines 15 *et seqq.*: *taodhaṅa devatāpanisena bhālā kāoyā nimirttana siddhayiogu rakṣana khaṅāo, mahārāja śrī śrī Jayaprakāśamalladevana niścayanaṃ satya ājñā praśarnnaṃ jura. gvaraṣāyā rājā śrīśrīśrī pṛthinārāṃyaṇanaṃ eosi nanānaṃ sālāo viya. dhaka satyadharmma vila.*

Shortly thereafter, Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu was ordered by the Dalai Lama to travel to Ladakh to mediate between warring factions in this region (*rNam thar*, p. 263). It seems that in his absence, in 1752, a tree was hewn for the *yaṣṭi*. According to the *rnam-thar* (p. 306), he rejected this tree upon his return, because it was too big and heavy for transport, and hence it had to be abandoned. Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle, by contrast, reports that a party from Kathmandu had cut down a tree which Tshe-dbang nor-bu did not accept because he found it too small. Apparently the Newars were unhappy about this rejection and sent out a party to verify the measurements (23,2f.). They were clearly upset when Tshe-dbang nor-bu insisted on taking a different tree even though the measurements supposedly confirmed the tree's suitability (23,4). One wonders whether the lama's insistence was also motivated by the wish to be present when the *yaṣṭi* was felled. This would be in accordance with the sentiments of the Newar who explained to me that when building a *caitya* the same priest should be in charge throughout, starting with the felling of the tree.

Tshe-dbang nor-bu got his way (which proves that he enjoyed considerable authority and was certainly more than a mere "helper"). A new tree that he had identified at Tsha-ba Tsha-shod, that is, modern Devīghāṭ where the Tādī River flows into the Triśulī, was finally cut down in 1753 in his presence. As attested in Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle (fol. 23) and as indirectly confirmed by the *rnam-thar*, the woodcutters and the priests for the concomitant rituals were Newars who had come for this from Kathmandu.

Afterwards Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu went to Svayambhū (*rNam thar*, p. 306), apparently in the belief that Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha would subsequently arrange for the transport of the *yaṣṭi* to Svayambhū. To the great disappointment of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu, this, however, did not happen. Finally in 1754 Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu lost patience and went yet again to the area of Nuwākoṭ to meet Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha. According to his biographer, Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu gave the Śāha king a proper scolding when he finally met up with him, even throwing such items as a copper lamp and incense stand at the king. This seems to have made the desired impression upon the latter, who reportedly then perceived

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[77] That the *yaṣṭi* was provided by the Gorkha king is also recorded in the inscription of a further architectural drawing (which gives, part by part, the measurements of the *caitya* after the renovation in 1757). I have reproduced this drawing, which was published first by Bernhard Kölver in his book *Re-building a Stūpa: Architectural Drawings of the Svayambhūnāth*, in my article on the Vajrayāna *caitya* published in the preceding issue of this journal (v. Rospatt 1999a: 136).

[78] The letter is reproduced in the *rnam-thar* on pp. 259-263.

Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin assume the likeness of a wrathful deity, with bulging and inflamed eyes and *ūrṇā* (the hair tuft well above the nose), and with flames coming forth from his mouth (311,5-312,1). He signed a promissory note to get things moving (*rNam thar*, pp. 310f.).

Accordingly, some time later in the same year, "uncountable" people assembled from such far-flung places as Ladakh and Kham to haul the *yaṣṭi* towards Kathmandu (*rNam thar*, p. 312).[79] After some progress had been made, the summer heat set in. For fear of disease, the numerous Tibetans who had come to tow the *yaṣṭi* retired to Kyirong. Only in autumn of the same year (still 1754) did they return, and the pulling of the tree was resumed (*rNam thar*, p. 313). It is not recorded in Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu's biography for how long and up to which point the *yaṣṭi* was transported in this way. In Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle it is specified (22,8) that it was the Gorkha king's responsibility to arrange for the transport within the area held by him. The same text complains that there were long delays until the tree finally arrived at a place called Sāsitāla, which must be somewhere on the Shivapuri ridge where the territories of the Gorkha and Malla kings converged. Indeed, since the start of the *yaṣṭi*'s transport in 1754 three years had passed, when, in the month of Phālguna (i.e. ≈ March 1757), the people of Kathmandu finally managed to pull the tree from this place to Svayambhū—an operation which lasted barely ten days (E 1743/3: 3r5-5r7, Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle 24,7-25,5).

It had clearly been anticipated that the *yaṣṭi* would arrive much faster and that thus the renovation could be accomplished much earlier. This follows from Vimalaprabhānanda's chronicle, which attests on a separate folio that the *caitya* was deconsecrated already in NS 874 (1753/54—a month is not given). The curious circumstances are recorded at greater length in Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle. It relates that after the transference of the divine essence into a water vessel (14,4-16,3), the pinnacle started to be taken down (Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle 17,1-3). On that occasion, Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu had a sample of the gold covering of the *harmikā* brought down in order to examine its quality. He found that a lot of additional gold was needed for gilding the rebuilt *caitya*. Accordingly, he asked the king for leave in order to travel to Tibet and raise the necessary funds. The king was obviously unhappy that in this way work on the *caitya* would be stalled (this shows the dependence upon Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu's presence) and extracted from the lama the promise to return quickly (17,3-18,1). The *rnam-thar* does not relate this episode, but confirms that in 1754 Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu was not in Kathmandu, but in Nuwākoṭ to see after the transport of the *yaṣṭi*, and in Tibet.

As Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle records (p. 18), in Tshe-dbang nor-bu's absence the troops of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha were advancing from the west towards Kathmandu. Even though a defence post was set up, this caused great alarm among "ministers, officials and the population" who were afraid that the Gorkha king might capture the Svayambhū deity, now that it was abiding in the *nyāsaghaṭa* and could be taken away easily. The king shared this concern and commanded that some nominal repairs be made instantly. Immediately afterwards the renovation was ritually declared to be complete, and the *caitya* reconsecrated by transferring the divine essence back into the *caitya*.[80] In this way, one counteracted any designs to capture the deity which the Śāha king might have entertained—something for which there is no evidence. As Vimalaprabhānanda's chronicle records (*ibid.*), this happened in the year after the *nyāsa* had been extracted (i.e. in 1754/55). By that time the roof of the niche of Amitābha had been renewed (as a nominal renovation?).

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[79] It is out of the question that they came all the way from Ladakh or Kham in order to join hands in the transport of the *yaṣṭi*. Rather, they must have already been present in the region of sKyid-grong (= Kyirong) to start with. The narrator manifestly capitalizes on their participation in order to aggrandize the *yaṣṭi* and its transport.

The preventive reconsecration meant that renovation work on the *caitya* was for the time being aborted. Only some years later, after the *yaṣṭi* had finally arrived at Svayambhū in 1757, was the *caitya* again deconsecrated. In the meantime Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu had apparently concentrated on the preparation of the gilded shields and the gilded copper plates covering other parts of the superstructure including the rings (*rNam thar*, pp. 262, 314f.). Then, in 1755, the lama from Kaḥ-thog left Kathmandu for good. He took leave from the king and entrusted the renovation to his disciples, notably to bsTan-'dzin rdo-rje, and the Newar priests and other members of the local Buddhist community. Possibly anticipating his death, he informed them that they would not meet again and requested them to see the renovation to its end (*rNam thar*, 319,3-6). Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu then travelled to Kyirong where, in the same year, he passed away (*rNam thar*, 324,3-5). Instead of him, dKar-brgyud 'Phrin-las shing-rta (1718-1766), the Seventh 'Brug-chen Rin-po-che, assumed responsibility for the renovation (328,5f.) and saw it to its successful completion. As vividly related in the *rnam-thar* (pp. 312-326), he had spent the last months with Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu in Tibet and had become a close friend, a true *kalyāṇamitra*.

Once the *caitya* had again been deconsecrated in Phālguna NS 877 (≈ March 1757), work swiftly proceeded and the *caitya* was dismantled and rebuilt within the next seven months. The dramatic circumstances under which the *yaṣṭi* was erected are recorded in Vimalaprabhānanda's (6r6-6v2)[81] and Svayambhūvajradeva's (30,2-31,5) chronicles, and hence will be recounted here.[82] In the night following upon the *yaṣṭi*'s erection, on the 9th of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha (May 27, 1757 A.D.),[83] the forces of the Gorkha king set out yet again to conquer the Valley from the west. Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha had been stationed with his troops at Dahachok, a hill some five miles west of Kathmandu. From there they were advancing towards Kīrtipur, putting up posts in its vicinity. Jayaprakāśa Malla arranged for a joint action with the forces of Patan and Kīrtipur, and called his own people to arms. He then took *darśan* of the royal goddess Tāleju and of the *yaṣṭi* which, as mentioned, had been erected on the day before. Thereupon he began the counterattack which was coordinated by him. The Gorkha troops, who were apparently encircled and outnumbered, were flushed out from their posts and fled. They were—in the words of Svayambhūvajradeva—pursued and three hundred men (Vimalaprabhānanda's chronicle 6v1), among them the famous *kājī* Kālu Pāṇḍe (Svayambhūvajradeva 31,1), the "right hand" of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha, were killed.[84] The Śāha king himself managed to flee under the cover of night to Dahachok. Svayambhūvajradeva specifies twice (31,1 and 31,6) that the troops from Kīrtipur did the killing, and one wonders whether it was partly in revenge for this that Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha later treated the people of Kīrtipur so brutally when he finally captured their town. After the Gorkha troops had thus been driven away to Dahachok, Jayaprakāśa Malla rejoiced in the victory and again took *darśan* of the *yaṣṭi* (Svayambhūvajradeva 31,4f.). Clearly, he worshipped the *yaṣṭi* as a source of his victory. Whether consciously or not, he thus seems to have associated the *yaṣṭi* with the Indra pole, which effects the renewal of royal power, and to this day is erected for this purpose once a year in Kathmandu (*indrayātrā*).[85]

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[80] Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle 18,8-19,1: *jirṇṇa'udhāra saṃpurṇṇā yāṃ dhaka dhāyā ntami. kāyā jivaṃnyāsa ruṅā juro.*

[81] T. R. Vaidya (1996: 183-188) has used Vimalaprabhānanda's, but not Svayambhūvajradeva's, chronicle for his treatment of what he calls the "first battle of Kīrtipur."

[82] These circumstances are not related in the *rnam-thar*. This is no surprise, given that this source (and in consequence also Ehrhard 1989: 7) wrongly dates the *yaṣṭi*'s erection to 1755, two years before this event—as the Newar sources and circumstantial evidence bear out—really took place (314,1).

[83] The Christian era date is according to Vaidya (1996: 184).

In light of this episode it is not surprising that Jayaprakāśa Malla jealously guarded access to the *caitya* at a later stage of the renovation when the *caitya* was rebuilt in the summer of 1757. In the anonymous account (E 1743/3: 25v2-4) it is reported that on behalf of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha 32 *mohar*s were included in the package of sacred items inserted in the *harmikā* (that is, the cube above the dome with the eyes painted on its fours sides). Upon their discovery by Jayaprakāśa Malla's secretary they were removed on the king's orders and replaced with three *mohar*s from the Kathmandu king, from Patan and from Bhaktapur. It is also recorded in the same source (25v6f.) that on that occasion the *harmikā* was built up with bricks bearing, it seems, the seal of the Malla king. Similarly, the copper plate containing the Piṇḍīkrama-maṇḍala that was inserted in the name of Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu in the *harmikā* had been marked before with the seal of the king of Kathmandu (E 1743/3: 24v6). Clearly, given the unveiled ambitions and designs of the Śāha king to conquer the Valley, Jayaprakāśa (and his attendant) must have felt the need to bar any encroachment of his rival upon Svayambhū and, by contrast, to mark it as his own. This was not only a question of sovereignty, but also of access to the blessing and favour of this powerful shrine which could translate into military success.

By the month of Āśvina (≈ October 1757) the *caitya* had been rebuilt, and the divine essence was transferred back to the *caitya*. After this preliminary reconsecration, the *caitya* was twice consecrated extensively, first according to the Tibetan and later according to the Newar tradition. Shortly after the renovation had been completed with the preliminary reconsecration, the 'Brug-chen Rin-po-che took leave of the king. On the latter's insistence he promised to come personally, if possible, for the proper consecration, or, failing this, to send a suitable substitute.[86] As it turned out, the 'Brug-pa lama stayed in Tibet because of his poor health. In his stead he asked the Seventh dPa'-bo Rin-po-che, rDo-rje gtsug-lag dga'-ba, who was on his way to Nepal on pilgrimage, to take care of the *rab-gnas* ritual. The latter duly complied with this request and consecrated the Svayambhūcaitya according to the Tibetan tradition at the beginning of the new Tibetan year, a particularly auspicious time (329,4f.). The *rab-gnas* lasted for three days and came to an end on the full moon day of Pauṣa (≈ January 1758) (inscription, l. 21). At the same time the 'Brug-chen Rin-po-che performed the identical ritual at his resting place in Mang-yul. The *rnam-thar* relates that the objects which he offered in the process manifested themselves miraculously at Svayambhū (329,6-330,2). In this way the 'Brug-pa lama participated in the renovation until its very conclusion and thus fulfilled the promise given to this effect to Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu and the king Jayaprakāśa Malla.

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[84] Vaidya (*ibid.*) refers to another source that puts the combined death toll of both sides at 1,200.

[85] Gérard Toffin has undertaken a detailed study of the Indrayātrā in Kathmandu. The results will reportedly be published in the near future.

In the next month the Newar priests began the preparation for the consecration according to their tradition. These rituals were performed in the customary manner in Vaiśākha and Jyeṣṭha (≈ May/June 1758) in the framework of a fire ritual that lasted for 12 days and nights.[87]

15) The renovation carried out with Bhutanese help from 1814 to 1817

The last comprehensive renovation of the Svayambhūcaitya with a replacement of the *yaṣṭi* was undertaken from 1814 to 1817. As Brag-dkar rta-so sprul-sku records (*op. cit.*, fol. 19a), it became necessary after the *yaṣṭi* had started to lean to the left in 1812 and finally tumbled down in 1813. According to Oldfield (1880: vol. 2, 222f.), this happened only in 1816 when the *yaṣṭi* broke in a storm. However, the Newar chronicle on this renovation (which was composed by one of the involved priests, a certain Cakrapāṇi Vajrācārya from Jhvāl Bāhāl),[88] records that a new *yaṣṭi* was being sought already in 1814 (1v1-6). Therefore it seems unlikely that Oldfield, who only came to settle in Nepal in 1850, rather than Brag-dkar rta-so (and the Newar source) got the date correct.[89]

The renovation got under way at the end of 1814 when a tree big enough to function as the new *yaṣṭi* for the *caitya* was searched for in the area of Hetāūḍā, south-west of the Valley at the foothills of the Mahābhārat Range. Though a suitable tree was found there, it was in the end not taken, because of the difficulty of pulling the tree all the way to Kathmandu. Instead, at the beginning of 1815, a tree was felled on the banks of one of the tributaries of the Triśulī (the area where *yaṣṭis* are traditionally fetched from), namely the Phalāṅkhu, beyond Betrāvatī. It took two years until the *yaṣṭi* arrived at Svayambhū at the beginning of 1817, on the 1st day of Māgha (≈ January/February). Twelve days later began the preparatory rituals of begging for forgiveness and empowerment for the extraction of the divine essence (6v6-7r7). The deconsecration was then accomplished on the 5th day of the dark half of Māgha (≈ February 1817) (7r7-9r2). Within the next two weeks the *caitya* was dismantled (9r2-12r1). In the following three weeks the remainder of the old *yaṣṭi* was taken out and the new *yaṣṭi* raised (12r2-19r6). In the course of the next two and a half months the *caitya* was built up again. After the last ring had been fixed on the second day of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha (≈ June), the pinnacle above the rings—including the honorific *chattra* but excluding the finial and the crest-jewel, which were only offered at the conclusion of the extended consecration—was installed and the Buddha statues were set up in their niches (40v6-41v4, 45r2-6). Thus four months after the deconsecration, the dismantling and subsequent rebuilding of the *caitya* were finished.

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[86] See Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle 5,1-7. In this passage the chronicle gives mistakenly the name of Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu. Apparently, the author was not aware that Kaḥ-thog had passed away and become replaced by the 'Brug-chen Rin-po-che.

[87] See Vimalaprabhānanda's chronicle 10v-19r and Svayambhūvajradeva's, 36-38.

[88] Unless mentioned otherwise, all citations in this section refer to this text.

[89] Oldfield specifies that 1816 was also the date of the reinstallation of the British residency in Kathmandu, and that hence the collapse of the *yaṣṭi*, which supposedly occurred in that year, was taken as a bad omen. However, given the evidence of the Tibetan and Newar sources, this appears to be either his or his informants' (purposeful?) fabrication.

A mere couple of days afterwards, the divine essence was transferred back to the *caitya* and the abridged consecration rituals were performed (47v6-49v3). At that time the preparations for the extended consecration ritual had already begun (41v6-45r2, 45r6-47v5). Accordingly, after less than three weeks the priests were already starting the extended fire ritual, which lasted for nine days and eight nights, until the consecration was concluded on the 9th day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha (≈ July 1817) (56v4-69r2). It is surprising that in a departure from normal practice, and contrary to what is attested for the other renovations, the extended consecration was performed straight after the divine essence had been reinserted, rather than waiting for the generally more auspicious winter months. However, the Bhutanese lamas reconsecrated the *caitya* according to their tradition at a later and, from their perspective, more auspicious, time.

Following the precedent established at the previous renovation in the middle of the 18th century, the renovation treated here was also carried out under the guidance of lamas of the Tibetan tradition. More precisely, they were, as Brag-dkar rta-so relates, 'Brug-pa lamas with a certain Lho-phyogs Nor-'dzin skyong-ba'i dbang-phyug in charge. As his name/title ('the Southerner, the Lord Protector of the Earth') reveals, he was clearly not a monk himself. Brag-dkar rta-so also mentions in his autobiography a group of Bhutanese masters returning from their work on Svayambhū. Among them he identifies by name a certain mKhan-chen Don-yod rdo-rje. Cakrapāṇi refers to the lama in charge simply as the "southern lama" (*hluvā lāmāju*). I am not aware of a detailed Tibetan (or Bhutanese) source on this renovation that would shed light on the background of the Bhutanese involvement and allow for an identification of the mentioned Bhutanese (or Tibetan) participants. However, there are two conditions one can point to. Firstly, as seen, the prior renovation was completed under the supervision of the Seventh 'Brug-chen Rin-po-che. Secondly, and much more significantly, the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa school of Bhutan had maintained close links with the house of Gorkha for a long time, even before the conquest of the Valley by

Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha.[90] Hence they had privileged access to the king (as they had to the late king Birendra even in our times). This not only translated into the permission to renovate Svayambhū, but also into the grant of land next to the *caitya* and the right to erect a temple for offerings there (which was duly built in 1819 under the guidance of the lama Sangs-rgyas rdo-rje). Though Cakrapāṇi assumes the perspective of the participating Newar priests, he attests—in the absence of Tibetan (or Bhutanese) sources to this effect—that the "southern lama" guided much of the actual renovation work after the *yaṣṭi* had arrived at Svayambhū.[91] He participated in the erection of the new *yaṣṭi*, and accordingly is referred to in one passage as "the southern lama who had come for replacing the *yaṣṭi*" (32r2f.). Consequently, he offered a brocade pennant to the erected *yaṣṭi* (19v4), in addition to the ones offered customarily by the king (19ªr5) and by the oil-pressers (*sāymi*) who had been in charge of raising the *yaṣṭi* into its upright position. Subsequently, he took part in the building up of the *caitya*, depositing sacred objects and performing rituals. Moreover, he financed the workers at least partially,[92] paid the ritual officiants (74v4-75r3, 76r2-5) (who surely received *dakṣiṇā* also from other parties) and, in addition, met the expenses for the wood of the thirteen rings above the *harmikā*, when the traditional sponsors could not fulfil their obligation. He also took charge when the traditional sponsors of the third tier did not appear, appointing three merchants (*sāhu*) from Nyeta in Kathmandu in their stead as caretakers (34v7).

These merchants, a certain Lahnasiṃju and a certain Śrīkṛṣṇa from Pasanani in Nyeta and one Visundhara from Tuṃche in Nyeta, emerged as the main donors from among the Newar community. Together with a *bare* from Lagan they acted as caretakers for the extended consecration rituals, assuming this responsibility instead of the localities traditionally in charge. Thus they provided the necessary materials, including the food for the festive meal afterwards (63v4) and the instruments for the priests officiating as musicians (*gītācārya*) (margin of 45r). They also rewarded the oil-pressers (20v7, 84v3) and the musicians (79v4f) in kind and with money. But their function as caretaker was not restricted to the consecration rituals. Thus Śrīkṛṣṇa had the aforementioned Piṇḍīkramamaṇḍala (originally inserted into the *caitya* in the name of Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu during the preceding renovation) worshipped in his house (21v3-5), and—together with the two other traders—also assumed responsibility for having it (and the other sacred items previously deposited in the *harmikā*) reinserted into the *caitya* when it was built up again (21v2). Moreover,

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[90] A letter by the Devadharma lama of Bhutan from 1867, kept in the archives of the Foreign Ministry of his Majesty's Government of Nepal (bundle number 57, accessioned in *vikrama saṃvat* [19]24), dwells on this special link. It claims that since the times of Rām Śāha, who lived in the first half of the 17th century, the Gorkha kings had been clients of the Bhutanese lamas. (I am grateful to Dinesh Raj Pant who drew my attention to this letter and read it with me.)

[91] The first mention of the lama finds him setting out from Kathmandu to witness the transport of the *yaṣṭi*, which had not yet reached the Valley at that time (5r5f.). However, at this stage the lama had apparently only come as an observer and was not yet in charge himself.

[92] The extent to which he covered the expenses for the workers is not clear. All the chronicle records is that he paid the workers who were covering the *harmikā* with gilded copper sheets (33v7-34r1).

Śrīkṛṣṇa sponsored the copper covering for the upper part of the *yaṣṭi* (32v5), while Visundhara had the statue of Ratnasambhava in the southern niche of the *caitya*'s dome gilded (46v7).

The three *sāhus* were by caste *udāys* (81r6) and apparently actively involved in the hugely profitable trade with Tibet.[93] To this trade they presumably owed the considerable wealth they must have possessed. They maintained a close relationship with the Newar trading posts in Lhasa and Shigatse, and accordingly asked ahead of the renovation for donations from the trader community and afterwards sent a blessed offering (*prasād*) from the rituals in return (80v1-5). The active participation and financial support of the *udāys* with a close trading connection to Tibet foreshadow the leading role played by Dhamāṃ Sāhu during the last major renovation of the Svayambhūcaitya in 1918 (see below).

Not only the lama and the merchants but also the government was actively involved in the renovation. Thus the government requisitioned 2,100 men, 700 persons each from Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhaktapur, for pulling the *yaṣṭi* from Nuwākoṭ district to Svayambhū (3r3-5). A very high-ranking and prominent government official, namely the *kapardār* Bhoṭu Pāṃḍe, took care of this, and in the process spent many days and nights in the rugged wilderness between Nuwākoṭ and the Valley (3r2-4r6).[94] After the procurement of the *yaṣṭi* and before the dismantling of the *caitya*, even as senior a figure as the minister *(kāji)* Bakhtabar Singh Basnyat (after the regent and the prime minister he along with a couple of other *kāji*s was the most powerful man in the country) got involved and came up to Svayambhū in order to take counsel with the priests and the *seṃgubare*s (9v5-10r1). Moreover, the king, that is, his government, took care not only of the uppermost ring, as he traditionally does, but also of the tenth and eleventh tiers when the traditional sponsors of these parts failed to carry out their obligation (40r3-6). Furthermore, when the gilded struts that are fashioned as flower garlands (MS.: *svāmāla*) and support the uppermost *gajur* were damaged shortly after the *caitya*'s renovation had been completed, the government assumed responsibility for the renewal of the finial, which entailed the replacement of the honorific *chattra*. Thus the necessary rituals were specifically carried out in the king's name, with no lesser person than the minister Bakhtabar Singh Basnyat acting in his stead as *jajmān* (81v3-5). Moreover, at the consecration of the new *chattra* the sword of the king (who was then only four years old) was present as his proxy (88v5).

The renovation dealt with here was carried out at a time when the Malla kingdom had already been conquered by the Śāhas, who were not only Hindus but also strangers to the Valley and its Newar culture. Their commitment to the Svayambhūcaitya not only reflects obvious political concerns, but also the notion that the king is ultimately responsible for the shrines in his kingdom, because they have—be they Hindu or Buddhist—a bearing on his and the country's well-being. In addition, the engagement of the government is in line with a promise given by Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha at the completion of the preceding renovation in 1758. According to the *rnam-thar* (p. 330), the lamas in charge after the demise of Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu presented the Gorkha king with valuable gifts, and—anticipating, it seems, his imminent conquest of the Valley—requested his future protection for Svayambhū. The Gorkha king, the *rnam-thar* states, was exceedingly pleased, and pledged to take care of the Svayambhūcaitya in the future.

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[93] Maṇidhar Tulādhar from the *udāy* community of Kathmandu told me that Visundhara, of whom he is a descendant, and Śrīkṛṣṇa maintained trading posts *(kothi)* in Lhasa; my informant had no doubt that the same applied to Lahnasiṃju.

[94] The *kapardār* was the comptroller of the royal household (see e.g. Kirkpatrick 1811: 200). As a member of the Council of Elders his was a truly senior position. Accordingly, he drew a very substantial salary which in the mid-19th century consisted of 2,500 rupees per annum (see Sever: 101).

Bhoṭu Pāṃḍe was a person of great wealth who made public and religious donations and established endowments, and is accordingly described as very pious (*atidharmātman*) by the chronicler of the Pāṃḍe clan (see Pāṃḍe Kṣatri: 132).

The extent to which the government of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha's great-grandson and also the lamas and the three sponsoring merchants had to involve themselves in the renovation followed from the need to compensate for the disintegration of the system of traditional sponsorship whereby sections of the Buddhist population of Kathmandu donated parts, volunteered labour and took care of rituals. This disintegration was itself a result of the impact of the Gorkha conquest upon the fabric of Newar society.

16) The last major renovation of the Svayambhūcaitya in 1918

As mentioned, since the renovation completed in 1817 the Svayambhūcaitya has to this day not been renovated again in a comprehensive manner, with the replacement of the *yaṣṭi* and the concomitant dismantling of all of the *caitya* but the lower section of the dome. However, there was one other major renovation afterwards, in 1918, that shares most features of a complete renewal of the *caitya*. Hence I will give a brief summary here in order to bring the present overview up to date. For this renovation there is an extensive account in the *rnam-thar* of the Tibetan lama rTogs-ldan Śākyaśrī composed by Kaḥ-thog Si-tu Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho (1880-1925).[95] To my knowledge there is, tellingly, no Newar chronicle documenting this renovation. However, Hemraj Shakya has—in addition to Śākyaśrī's biography (summarized in 1978/9: 319-322)—made use of information he could gather some thirty years ago from hearsay, and, more particularly, from those participants who were then, fifty years after the renovation, still alive (1978/9: 323-329). Besides Newar material, Shakya also collected data from the 'Brug-pa lama Tshe-bcu sku-gzugs rin-po-che, who descends from the Bhutanese lamas involved in this renovation. This Rinpoche (who resides atop the blissful hillock of Kimḍol) kindly spared his valuable time and gave me a brief account of the renovation.

The main protagonists behind the renovation were the aforementioned rTogs-ldan Śākyaśrī (1853-1919), the 'Brug-pa lama dGe-bshes Shes-rab rdo-rje and the Newar *sāhu* Dharmamānasiṃ Tulādhar (who is commonly referred to as Dhamāṃ Sāhu). Śākyaśrī, a renowned 'Brug-pa rNying-ma-pa lama from Kham with a large following, initiated the renovation. According to his biography, he saw in a dream the state of disrepair the Svayambhūcaitya had fallen into (the superstructure was leaning towards the north) and thereupon decided to have Svayambhū renovated (Shakya 1978/9: 319). Śākyaśrī was too advanced in age to travel the immense distance from East Tibet to Nepal. Hence he contacted to this end two devoted disciples of his, namely the first Bhutanese king, O-rgyan dbang-phyug (1862-1926), and the aforementioned Dhamāṃ Sāhu. The latter had at that time returned home to Kathmandu from China where he had been looking after the trading interests of Nepal (1978/9: 302). During his stay there, he had not only acquired great riches as a merchant, but also become a devotee of Tibetan lamas, and in particular of Śākyaśrī.

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[95] This account has been published separately by Kaḥ-thog Si-tu Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho, 1983.

In compliance with his guru's wishes, the king O-rgyan dbang-phyug charged the 'Brug-pa lama dGe-bshes Shes-rab rdo-rje with the renovation and himself donated 40,000 Indian rupees.[96] Besides Shes-rab rdo-rje, three sons of Śākyaśrī and further lamas sent by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Thub-bstan rgya-mtsho participated as Tibetan ritual specialists in the renovation. As Śākyaśrī's trusted disciple, Dhamāṃ Sāhu was vital to the organization of the renovation in Kathmandu. According to his descendant Siddhārtha Mān Tulādhar (personal communication), Dhamāṃ Sāhu obtained permission for the *caitya*'s renovation from the royal government and, by the same token, was obliged to see the renovation through to its successful end, lest his entire property and that of his dependants be confiscated. As for rTogs-ldan Śākyaśrī himself, he continued to mobilize support. He not only raised funds from common devotees (supposedly some 75,000 Nepalese rupees), but also from the Dalai Lama (10,000 Nepalese rupees) and the king of Sikhim (7,000 Indian rupees).

rTogs-ldan Śākyaśrī, the 'Brug-pa lama Shes-rab rdo-rje and Dhamāṃ Sāhu did not content themselves with organizing and carrying out the renovation, but were also major donors themselves. Thus Śākyaśrī donated 20,000 Nepalese rupees, and Shes-rab rdo-rje 15,000 Indian rupees. In addition the latter's family, relatives and disciples raised a further 30,000 Indian rupees for the renovation. By far the biggest single donor, however, was Dhamāṃ Sāhu who gave, according to Shakya's source, the immense sum of 75,000 Nepalese rupees. In this light the following popular rhyme mocking Dhamāṃ Sāhu and the renovation seems unfair and indicative of the many enemies and much envy Dhamāṃ Sāhu had to put up with (1978/9: 302f.).

> (It happened thanks to) the Tibetans' money,
> but in Dhamāṃ Sāhu's name.
> The overseer Jogabīra was blind,[97]
> the whitewashers morons.[98]

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[96] The amounts given in the following have been reproduced from the list of donations in Śākya 1978/9: 328. I did not examine how trustworthy these figures are.

[97] The "blindness" of the overseer refers to the slight tilt of the *yaṣṭi*. See the east-west section through the *caitya* drawn by Surendra Joshi (pl. 178 in Niels Gutschow 1997: 89).

[98] This rhyme, which is still remembered by many people, was published in the following version by Pūrṇakājī Tāmrakār (2000):

sayaṃtaygu dāṃ
dharmā sāhuyā nāṃ
jogavīra nāyaḥ kāṃ

The renovation work on the *caitya* was accomplished within less than four months in 1918. However, the work with wood and copper for the new rings and other parts of the superstructure had already started in August/September of the preceding year. The rituals were again carried out in the Tibetan and Newar traditions. First, the aforementioned sons of rTogs-ldan Śākyaśrī transferred the divine essence (*nyāsa*) into a mirror in accordance with the Tibetan tradition (Śākya 1978/9: 323). Nearly a month later, on the 3rd day of the bright half of Māgha (≈ February 1918), the Newar priests transferred the *nyāsa* from the *caitya* into a water vessel (*ibid.*). It seems that the original plan had been to transfer the *nyāsa* according to both traditions on the same day. But the extensive preparatory pacification and empowerment rituals required in the Newar tradition made this apparently impossible. Interestingly, the Newar priests were not willing to compromise on this point, whereas they agreed to extract the *nyāsa* even though it had been transferred already by the Tibetan lamas. This does not, I believe, imply a distrust in the efficacy of the Tibetan ritual tradition. Rather, it shows that the *vajrācārya*s (like their Tibetan counterparts) operate strictly within their own framework. Besides, duplication in the ritual sphere is in Newar Buddhism—and, I suspect, most other ritual traditions of South Asia—conceived of as an additional bonus rather than a lack of coherency.

Since the *yaṣṭi* was not replaced, the dome and *harmikā* were not taken apart. However, the structure above was dismantled, the wood burnt according to precept, and the metal presumably melted down and recycled. Thus—in accordance with the conception of renovation as replacement rather than repair—the rings, the honorific parasol and all the remaining superstructure, except for the crest-jewel and crystal, were newly built. It seems that the new parts were more lavishly made than heretofore, and that some decorative elements were executed in gilded copper rather than, as before, in simple cloth (*ibid.*, p. 322). Moreover, the niches were entirely renewed, and prayer-wheels for the first time added around the base of the dome. Even so, the funds seem to have exceeded all needs, so that many donated items were simply inserted into the dome, which must have been opened for that purpose (*ibid.*).

Given the abundant funds, the support by Tibetan and Bhutanese lamas and rulers, the backing of the Newar community, and the cooperation from the government, the question that leaps to the fore is *why* the *yaṣṭi* was not replaced, thereby renewing the *caitya* in its entirety, as in the case of the preceding renovations presented here. Though I have not found this spelled out anywhere, I suspect that there is a simple answer, namely that by the 20th century it had become impossible to find a suitable tree in the district of Nuwākoṭ or anywhere else in the vicinity of the Valley. I presume that also in the future it will be impossible to set up a new *yaṣṭi*, unless a tree is brought from far away and the principle is violated that it has to be hauled by men all the way to Svayambhū, or unless one compromises on the principle that the *yaṣṭi* has to be a single solid trunk of fixed dimensions.

As mentioned, apart from the replacement of the *yaṣṭi* the renovation proceeded along the same lines as previous ones. Thus the wood for the support of the honorific parasol was cut

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sākhāyā yāḥhma dhvāṃ

ritually in the context of a journey to the forest (*vanayātrā*) on the slopes of Svayambhū, more precisely, below the Pulāṃ Seṃgu *caitya* (Śākya 1978/9: 324). Moreover, the crystal bowl was placed in a litter (but not taken around in a procession) so as to give *darśan* to all people (*ibid.*). Furthermore, one Buddha statue, namely that of Vairocana, was replaced. The old one, besides being smaller than the other Buddha statues, displayed the *mudrā* incorrectly. As attested for the renovation in 1721, the new Vairocana was taken around town in a procession that involved the participation of all the Dīpaṃkara statues, as in the *samyak* festival celebrated every twelve years (*ibid.*).

The *caitya* was reconsecrated again separately according to the Newar and Tibetan tradition. It was first the turn of the Tibetans. Instead of the sons of rTogs-ldan Śākyaśrī, who had deconsecrated the *caitya*, other lamas, reportedly dispatched by the Dalai Lama, transferred the *nyāsa* back into the *caitya* and performed the consecration rituals (*ibid.*). According to his biography, Śākyaśrī himself performed the same rituals simultaneously in Tibet, and, with echoes of the renovation in the middle of the 18th century, the offerings he made manifested themselves at Svayambhū (Śākya 1978/9: 322). According to the Newar account (*ibid.*, p. 324), the work on the niches had at the time not yet been finished, and the lamas accordingly promised to return later for an extended consecration. However, neither the Tibetan nor Newar sources seem to record that a further *rab-gnas* ritual was performed.

In the Newar tradition the *nyāsa* was "poured" back into the *caitya* only some four months later. The extended consecration was postponed too because—again Shakya (*ibid.*, p. 322)—there were small shrines, *caityas*, rest-houses etc. at Svayambhū that were still in disrepair. Only after the elapse of nearly three years, apparently after extensive further repairs around the *caitya*, did the Newar priests perform the comprehensive consecration rituals in the months of Vaiśākha and Jyeṣṭha (≈ May and June 1921). As follows from Śākya's account (*ibid.*, pp. 325f.), these rites were performed in at least as elaborate a form as in the case of previous renovations. Thus the *ahorātra* fire ritual providing the frame for the consecration rituals lasted reportedly 13 days (and 12 nights).

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NGMPP reel no. A 969/13: *Stūpalakṣaṇakārikāyā vivecana*.

NGMPP reel no. E 1874/2. *Thyāsaphū* with 30 folds, recording the "twin renovations" at the end of the 16th (1591-1595) and the beginning of the 17th century (1601-1604).

NGMPP reel no. E 1744/2. Manuscript with 69 inscribed pages. In the main it contains different lists executed in different hands for various rituals which are related to the consecration of *caitya*s. Embedded within this material are two extracts referring to the renovations of Svayambhū concluded in 1683 (pp. 44f.; the pagination is by myself) and 1817 (pp. 2-5):

NGMPP reel no. B 100/22. Manuscript kept in the National Archives (no. 3-270) with 12 large (37.5 x 14 cm) folios (paginated 154-165), inscribed recto and verso with 9 lines each. The text deals with the renovation from 1710 to 1713 (NS 830-833).

NGMPP reel no. E 1849/11 (= *Svayambhūvajradeva's chronicle*). Manuscript that deals on the last 38 pages (numbered 1 to 38 by me) first with the life and family of Svayambhūvajradeva Vajrācārya from Makhan Bāhāl (pp. 1-8), and then (pp. 8-38) with the renovation of Svayambhū in the mid-18th century and the preceding events.

NGMPP reel no. E 1743/3. Manuscript of 40 folios (25.2 x 8.2 cm) of which the first two have not been microfilmed, recording the renovation of the Svayambhūcaitya in 1757.

NGMPP reel no. E 1874/2. Manuscript by Cakrapāṇina Vajracārya of Jhvāl Bāhāl, kept in the Āśā Saphū Kuthi Archives, Kathmandu (no. Bi-i 03). The text has 84 folios (25 x 8.3 cm) inscribed *recto* and *verso* with 7 lines each. The foliation is faulty in two places. It skips from 21 to 32, and two folios bear the number 19. This text records the renovation of the Svayambhūcaitya from 1814 to 1817 (NS 935-937) (1v-77r).

Manuscripts kept in the private collection of Yagyamanpati Bajracharya[99]

Thyāsaphū recording the renovation of Svayambhū from 1637 to 1640.

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[99] I am grateful to Yagyamanpati Bajracharya who generously allowed me to consult these *thyāsaphū*s on a number of occasions at his residence in Kuleshvar, Kathmandu.

Thyāsaphū kept in the private collection of Yagyamanpati Bajracharya. The section on the renovation carried out from 1681 to 1683 is written on one side and numbers 29 pages with six lines each.

Vimalaprabhānanda's chronicle. Manuscript of 20 folios, inscribed with seven lines on each side, recording the renovation work carried out in 1757 and the consecration in 1758.

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"*Sako chronicle*." *Thyāsaphū* of 52 pages (with 7 lines each) kept in the Royal Library of Copenhagen (no. W.J. 135).

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Bhikṣu Haribhadra's *Vibhaktikārikā*
An Unknown Grammatical Text Edited with a Brief Introduction
(First Part)

ALBRECHT WEZLER
(in cooperation with DIWAKAR ACHARYA, Kathmandu)

1. The first and foremost aim of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project was, as indicated by its name, the preservation (on microfilm) of the extraordinarily rich treasures of manuscripts and other handwritten historical documents to be found in the kingdom of Nepal. But the spiritual fathers of this "joint venture," admittedly, also hoped that the project would lead to the discovery of "new" texts—in Sanskrit, Tibetan and other languages of South and Central Asia—entirely unknown, or known only from translations into other languages or secondary references to them, and (old) manuscripts—of texts already known—which might turn out to be of particular testimonial value. After all, already in the 19th century Nepal had proved a veritable treasure trove of manuscripts of not just individual texts but also whole classes of texts,[1] thus attracting the attention of scholars from other countries,[2] and it has long since become, quite understandably, a focal point of collecting activities (if this is the right word, and not rather mania). That manuscripts, or parts of manuscripts or even single folios, have been and still are being sold to tourists as curios and souvenirs—that is to say, that a certain percentage of this facet of the national heritage of Nepal leaves the country secretly and illegally—is another story. In neither case can the motives be reduced to simple business-mindedness; there is certainly much more to it. Yet what has also to be mentioned, and most gratefully acknowledged, in this connection is the readiness of Nepalese pandits and intellectuals to make particularly rare and important manuscripts available to fellow scholars in other parts of the world.[3]

2. That this hope of the spiritual fathers of the NGMPP was not in vain became clear already towards the end of the 1970s, that is, still within the first decade of the NGMPP's activities in Nepal. In fact, so much of the manuscript material made available, or more easily available, by the Project was being used by scholars from various parts of the world (not by any means only Germans or predominantly Germans) that it was already at that time[4] not easy to keep pace with developments (not even with the collection of bibliographical data), not to mention to become intimately familiar with new publications. The brook of those days soon grew into a river, which is becoming broader by the year. Owing to certain shortcomings in communication between the NGMPP and the National Archives, far from all the users of the growing collection of microfilms were known to us, and this did not, of course, facilitate the—self-imposed—task of collecting all the relevant bibliographical information. Nevertheless, and in spite of the awareness of its—unavoidable—incompleteness we are still pursuing our plan of not only making accessible the electronically compiled "Preliminary List of Manuscripts, Xylographs, etc., of the NGMPP,"[5] but also publishing a bibliography of the work done from the 1970s up to the year 2001 with the help of material from this project, in order to document and to account and supply a research tool for the "fruits of the NGMPP."[6]

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[1] The best known and most important example is Mahāyāna Buddhist literature.

[2] England, France and Germany in the West, and India and Japan in the East, to mention just the most important ones.

[3] See, for instance, the contribution by Prof. Enrica Garzilli to this volume and, in connection with it, also Pulsalker's (1955: 111) praise of "Rajaguru Hemaraja, the discoverer of the oldest Nepalese MS of the *Ādiparvan*."

[4] Cf., for example, my report (Wezler 1986), or Franco 1999: 410f.

It is true that the Project made no absolutely stunning finds, such as (a) manuscript(s) of Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, to mention just one lost text of only one part of the Buddhist *pramāṇavāda* tradition,[7] or work(s) of Vasurāta, Bhartṛhari's guru—not so much as the title(s) of which are known to us[8]—or perhaps even Vyāḍi's (?) *Saṃgraha*,[9] to refer also to the extraordinarily significant Brahmanical tradition of grammar and philosophy of language. No big sensations, then, of the sort to attract the attention of journalists and become "news" distributed by press agencies; instead a number—and a large one at that—of small(er) sensations, namely generally unexpected discoveries and veritable surprises, to fully appreciate which one requires the specialized knowledge of a particular field of studies within Indology or Tibetology.[10] Indeed, it is a very real possibility that more such discoveries will be made in the future: the careful examination of a single manuscript folio by folio may reveal that it in fact contains a second text in addition to the title under which it is listed,[11] and that this second text, even fragmentary, is unique, that is, the only direct testimony known so far, or else of particularly high testimonial value, etc.

A few examples of such finds may be given, selected at random from among those made during the earlier phases (or should I say: stages) of the Project, and during its last years.

First, I should like to refer to two reports which are of importance in this context, although both of them cover, of course, only (systematically different) parts of the material, and do not consist just of "sensational finds": namely one by Witzel, published for the first time in this volume of the *JNRC*,[12] and one by Hahn (1983b), "Indische und nepalesische Handschriften im Indologischen Seminar der Universität Bonn"[13]; secondly, many monographs, dissertations etc. of former students of the latter colleague (not to mention his own most substantial contributions to our knowledge of Buddhist narrative literature[14]) are basically critical editions of such discoveries, the most recent being Schneider's edition of Sukṛtidatta Panta's *Kārtavīryodaya*,[15] Okano's edition of Sarvarakṣita's *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā*[16] and Handurukande's *Three Sanskrit Texts on Caitya Worship*.[17]

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[5] This list will be published in 2002.

[6] This will also be the title of a new series of publications.

[7] A manuscript kept in the National Archives and catalogued there as "Pramāṇavārttika" is but a portion of Uddyotakara's *Nyāyavārttika*, viz. that in which the concept of *pramāṇa* is dealt with.

[8] Cf. Muni Jambūvijaya 1966: Prākkathanam 15, fn. 2.

[9] On which see now Wujastyk 1993: II, xiv ff.

[10] The first Tibetologist to work for the NGMPP as its assistant "representative" was Leonard van der Kuijp. With the shift of the main focus of project activity to the Tibetan material at the end of the 1980s, it was only natural that the NGMPP in Nepal was overseen by young scholars who were first and foremost Tibetologists, viz. Christoph Cüppers, Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Klaus-Dieter Mathes.

[11] Viz. on the so-called index cards which are filled out before microfilming a particular manuscript/xylograph and which, by the by, also form the basis of the "Preliminary List . . ." mentioned above.

But editorial activity of this type is not, of course, confined to this particular "*gurukula*" only (to use the Indian term). Other groups of scholars, or individual scholars, may and should be mentioned in this connection—though, again, all that is possible here is an arbitrary choice among them. Grünendahl, to whom we owe the first edition of the *Viṣṇudharmāḥ*,[18] an early text "devoted to the promotion of Viṣṇu faith and worship," of which there are "three dated manuscripts preserved in Nepal," while "in India, the circumstances were less favourable to the preservation of manuscripts, so that we find only scattered remains of what must once have been a flourishing tradition superseded, moreover, by its prominent successor, the Viṣṇudharmottara";[19] or, since the genre of the Purāṇas may be considered to be at issue now, Adriaensen, Bakker and Isaacson, who in 1998 published the first volume of their edition of *The Skandapurāṇa*,[20] based, among others, on one of the oldest manuscripts found in Nepal, namely a manuscript "dated 234," which corresponds to 810 A.D. if "the era" is in fact, as the editors "have argued elsewhere,"[21] "that of Mānadeva (= Aṃśuvarman)." If it is, they have recovered a version of the text which is quite evidently much older than that published and known so far. The oldest manuscript of any Pali text—unfortunately a fragment only—was finally published in an exemplary manner (an earlier edition exists but is faulty) by von Hinüber in 1991.[22] Only fragmentarily preserved, too, is Jātarūpa's commentary on the *Amarakośa* (the oldest extant); it was edited in two volumes by Pant just last year.[23] Matsuda's[24] edition of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* is noteworthy in that it consists basically of a fascimile reproduction of the two Nepalese manuscripts—one way of making rare material accessible to scholars that may be profitably used in other cases. Or Inami, Matsuda and Tani with their *Study of the Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā by Śākyabuddhi*[25] or Bühnemann and Tachikawa who, in 1990, jointly published "a collection of line drawings depicting the deities of the Śaiva pantheon as described in chapter 6 of the *Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇasārasamuccaya* under the title *The Hindu Deities Illustrated according to the Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇasārasamuccaya*,[26] thus reminding us of the extraordinary significance of Nepalese manuscripts for the study of South Asian art and iconography.

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[12] See below, pp. 255-299.

[13] [Indian and Nepalese Manuscripts in the Indological Institute of the University of Bonn.]

[14] See, for example, Hahn and Klaus 1983a.

[15] See Schneider 1996.

[16] See Okano 1998.

[17] See Handurukande 2000.

[18] See Grünendahl 1983-1989.

[19] Quoted from Grünendahl 1983 (Part 1), "Preface."

[20] See Adriaensen, Bakker and Isaacson 1998.

[21] The reference is to an article published in the *Indo-Iranian Journal*; see Adriaensen, Bakker and Isaacson 1994.

[22] See von Hinüber 1991.

It is, however, another class of religious texts for which Nepal is particularly famous and which can be regarded as "typical" of both Hinduism and Buddhism, as continuously practised for centuries until the present day, namely (the) Tantras. As was to be expected, the NGMPP has yielded a particularly rich harvest in this regard. But again, it is not possible to name all those scholars who have already utilized it, or rather part of it. All that can be done is to mention just a few of them: the (late) J. A. Schoterman,[27] Goudriaan,[28] Dyczkowski[29] and Goodall,[30] not to mention Isaacson, who carefully looked through a major part of the microfilms of the Buddhist Tantric texts, discovered that the Sanskrit original of hundreds of them, previously known only to have survived in Tibetan translations, are in fact preserved in Nepal, and who has been working on many of them more intensively for a number of years now.[31]

As for Tibetan texts themselves,[32] suffice it to mention just a few relevant publications of the last years, such as Tanaka 1998,[33] Fushimi 1999[34] and Yotsuya 1999.[35]

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[23] See Pant 2000.

[24] See Matsuda 1996.

[25] See Inami, Matsuda and Tani 1992.

[26] See Bühnemann and Tachikawa 1999; cf. also Blom 1989.

[27] See Schoterman 1982.

[28] See Goudriaan and Schoterman 1988.

[29] See Dyczkowski 2001.

[30] See Goodall 1998.

[31] See Isaacson 1998.

[32] Cf. fn. 10 above.

[33] See Tanaka 1998.

First attempts at outlining the signficance of Tibetan manuscripts, xylographs and historical documents microfilmed by the Project were made by Cüppers[36] and Ehrhard.[37]

3. The text to which attention is drawn, and of which an edition is presented here, belongs to still another category of material, regarding which it was recognized, already towards the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, that the only manuscripts still extant, or the best or particularly important manuscripts, were to be found in Nepal. What I am referring to is grammatical literature, especially Buddhist grammatical literature, and primarily the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*. Liebich, who was the pioneer in the field of the study of this strand of the Indian grammatical tradition and who rendered outstanding services to it, above all by his edition of the Sūtra,[38] the Vṛtti, etc.,[39] was fully aware of the special significance of the material preserved in Nepal (as compared with that of Śri Lanka and Kashmir) as early as 1895,[40] and not only realized the necessity of using a Nepalese manuscript, but also succeeded in having it sent to him, for some time, "through the good offices of Professor Sylvain Lévi in Paris, whose assistance I have mentioned already in connection with the Candra-Uṇādi."[41] He described it as "a unique thing, a palm-leaf manuscript of the 12th to 13th century written with utmost care and perserved almost completely."[42] It is hence not surprising that Liebich expressly states that "Indology in any case owes the owner of the manuscript, the Mahārāja of Nepal, a debt of gratitude for this remarkable liberality."[43]

When the NGMPP had successfully finished the first phase of its activities, that is, microfilmed the collections of the National Archives and of the Kesar Library, and had already begun to focus on private collections in the Valley and the Bagmati Zone at large, one desideratum, mentioned first by Rau—who had himself (Rau 1964) already published another

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[35] See Yotsuya 1999.

[36] See Cüppers 1991.

[37] See Ehrhard 1989, 1990, 1991a and 1991b and 1992; for more recent years see Mathes 1996, 1999 and 2000.

[38] See Liebich 1902.

[39] See Liebich 1918.

[40] See Liebich 1895.

[41] Quoted from Liebich 1918: ix. The German original reads as follows: "durch die Vermittlung von Professor Sylvain Lévi in Paris, dessen Hilfe ich schon für das Candra-Uṇādi erwähnen konnte."

[42] *Ibid.* In German it reads: "dieses Unikum, eine Palmblatthandschrift des 12. bis 13. Jahrhunderts, sehr sorgfältig geschrieben und so gut wie lückenlos erhalten."

[43] *Ibid.*; "Die Indologie ist dem Besitzer der Handschrift, dem Maharaja von Nepal, für diese weitgehende Liberalität jedenfalls zu Dank verpflichtet."

fragment of the *Candravṛtti*—at the end of his brief survey of "grammar,"[44] was a "new edition of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* according to the numerous palm-leaf manuscripts from Nepal on microfilm." His suggestion was taken up by Oberlies[45] within the framework of a doctoral dissertation, though he had to confine himself to a critical investigation into and an edition and discussion of "Candra IV.4.52-14.8 and V.2" (based on the additional source material), namely that part of Candragomin's grammar (Sūtra and Vṛtti on them) which deals with nominal compounds. He and Deshpande made also other important contributions to the study of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*[46] and its reception, that is, the "Candra School," as it is sometimes called.[47]

4. Bhikṣu Haribhadra's *Vibhaktikārikā* belongs to this school of Indian grammar. This text is duly mentioned by Verhagen (1994: 58) in his comprehensive *History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet*, but contrary to his contention that "it has not been preserved in the original Sanskrit," it has in fact been so, albeit not in its entirety. This text was in fact already mentioned by Liebich in the (first) résumé of his inquiries into the obtainable material (Liebich 1895: 18f.), and he even quoted the Tibetan translation of its introductory and final portions. The manuscript, written in a particular type of *nevārī lipi*, was microfilmed by the NGMPP in March 1990.[48] The discovery of this text confirms the correctness of the second of the two possibilities considered by Verhagen of reconstructing its author's name: it was Bhikṣu Haribhadra and not Siṃhabhadra. It equally confirms that Verhagen was right when observing that "[c]ontrary to what its title seems to suggest . . . this text is not metrical in its translation," and that "it seems unlikely" that "the original was," so that we are faced with the problem of a very loose use of the comparatively old term *kārikā*[49] which as a rule is rightly rendered as "didactic (or mnenonic) verse": The work composed by Bhikṣu Haribhadra is in prose, except, of course, for the *ārambhaśloka*.

In passing only, and before actually turning to the text itself, it should be noted that the first volume of Verhagen's *History* . . . contains a number of similar contentions which are likewise not correct:

1. The text given by him the sigla CG (= Corpus of Grammatical Literature in the Tibetan Canon) 7, 18 and 41 are found in the National Archives' *Bṛhatsūcīpatra*, Vyākaraṇa Section; that is to say, they are preserved in the original Sanskrit.

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[44] See Rau 1979: 160.

[45] See Oberlies 1989.

[46] See Oberlies 1992.

[47] See, for example, Belvalkar 1915: 57.

[48] Reel No. E 2472/34.

[49] On which see Wezler (forthcoming).

2. CG 9, 12, 14 and 26 were, according to information supplied by Diwakar Acharya, even previously published in Rājasthān.

3. CG 37 and 38 (*Subantaratnākara / Vyākaraṇa-Subanta*): The author's name, I should like to add, is Subhūti.

4. In some other cases (e.g. CG 15, 23, 25 and 32) it will first be necessary to check the matter in Nepal itself, but it seems very likely indeed that the information given by Verhagen can here, too, be improved upon or even corrected.

If one considers that there are, of course, among the Vyākaraṇa manuscripts microfilmed by the NGMPP not a few texts which were never translated into Tibetan, but are likewise little known or entirely unknown, the dimensions of the task lying before us become visible: enough work for several scholars, and also for the next generation of Indologists, among whom I should like to classify two of my own students, namely (Mrs.) M. Wielinska-Soltwedel, who is currently preparing a critical edition of Viśvarūpa's *Bhāṣāvṛttipañjikā* (on the first adhyāya of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*), and (Mrs.) Mei Yang, who will most probably work on the *Mitavṛttyarthasaṃgraha*, a (very) brief, and unfortunately only fragmentary, commentary on Pāṇini's Sūtra; in both these cases manuscripts of the texts can be found, as far as we can tell, only in Nepal.

As for the *Vibhaktikārikā*, the edition itself of which is to form the main body of the present article, and to be accompanied by a consolidated "critical" edition of the Tibetan translation, it will hopefully be published in the next issue of this journal.

(to be continued)

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Medieval Veda Tradition as Reflected in Nepalese Manuscripts

MICHAEL WITZEL

Vedic scholarship has for a long time been
at the lowest ebb in Nepal.
H. P. Śāstri, 1905: ii

One* of the many obvious benefits of the NGMPP is that it has provided us with the possibility of looking at a large number of manuscripts and other written materials that are not infrequently a thousand years old. We can do so, now, in comparative fashion,[1] both with regard to the changing religious and literary trends within Nepal as well as in comparison with the rest of the subcontinent.[2]

§ 1. Introduction

Nepal was probably Hinduized only in the early centuries A.D.,[3] after the rather nebulous period of the Kirāta kings. However, the country has preserved a wealth of written information and still continuing ritual traditions with regard to the Vedas. To my initial surprise, on arrival in 1972, this is much more than an outsider would expect or than H.P. Śāstri initially found (see above). As I have discussed the Vedic traditions of Nepal briefly, though somewhat inaccessibly, elsewhere,[4] I merely give a sketch of this topic here.

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* I thank Mahes Raj Pant, Philip Pierce, Eva Wilden and Albrecht Wezler for carefully reading my manuscript and correcting many mistakes and oversights. Special thanks are due to Ph. Pierce for editing and to my old friend Mahes Raj Pant for correcting and improving many details of my presentation. Any remaining mistakes are my own.

[1] Note for example the changing trends in personal names around 1600 A.D., i.e. the sudden spread of Kṛṣṇaite names (mirrored by the same, contemporaneous development in Gujarat). Manuscript collections have hardly been used for such purposes. A detailed collection of medieval personal and place names, including those of subsections of settlements, should finally be made, based on the colophons of the approximately 2,400 palm leaf manuscripts from Nepal that date back to the period before c. 1500 A.D. So far, scholars have only concentrated on kings and their regnal dates.

[2] Note, for 1700 A.D., King Bhūpatīndra's mss. list, now in the large collection of mss. marked 1-1696 (probably 1-1696-1568, NGMPP Reel No. A 610/23), that come from a Bhaktapur Rājopādhyāya (see below). It is now catalogued in the Dharma-Vividha/Bahi section of the Archives. I had planned to edit it, but have not yet found the opportunity to do so.

[3] For the new statue of King Jayavarmā found in 1992 in Maligaon, see Tamot and Alsop 1996; cf. also Verardi 1992, along with di Castro and Garbini n.d.

[4] Witzel 1976a; 1976b, 1986b, 1987.

Even the early Licchavi inscriptions, from ŚS 386/464 A.D. onwards, expressly mention Brahmins in leading positions, especially in the Balambu area.[5] We may therefore expect some of them to have used Vedic texts at some of the rituals of the Licchavi court,[6] such as the coronation of Aṁśuvarman (MS 30/606 A.D.).[7] They may also have brought an active oral transmission of the Veda into the Valley. Indeed, we find typical Ḅrahmin names, Veda Bhaṭṭa and YājñikaViprasena, in the Thankot inscription of ŚS 429/508 A.D.[8] The title *bhaṭṭa* indicates Vedic study by its bearer, while a *yājñika* is a performer of Vedic rituals (also mentioned in Vasantadeva's Khapinche inscription[9] of ŚS 452/531 A.D.). The same inscription also mentions the *kāraṇapūjā* which is performed in the worship of the nominal author of all Yajurveda texts, Vaiśampāyana.[10] Other indirect pieces of evidence are the mentioning of a *taittirī-śākhā-goṣṭhī* in the Nārāyaṇ Caur inscription of c. 750 A.D.,[11] and a manuscript[12] which mentions one Ratnasiṁha living at the *taittirīyaśālā* in Kathmandu in NS 156/1026 A.D. The Taittirīyas are unusual in Northern India; after the Vedic period, they are only found in South India. Their mention in Nepal may reflect, however, the surprising custom of having southern Brahmins work as priests in the northernmost areas of the subcontinent.[13]

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[5] Starting with the (until recently) oldest and most famous inscription, that of Mānadeva at Changu Narayan, *Saṁvat 386 jyaiṣṭhamāse śuklapakṣe pratipadi 1 rohiṇīnakṣattrayukte candramasi* = 464 A.D., which mentions Brahmins (*vipra, dvija*) as recipients of gifts.

[6] Cf. various sections in the Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa on royal rituals.

[7] Bajracharya VS 2030: no. 72, pp. 301f., Harigaon inscr., Witzel 1980: 18. Cf. Witzel 1987 on the rites of coronation which were, about that time, similar to the rituals mentioned in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā; see also Pant 1976.

[8] Bajracharya VS 2030: no. 22.

[9] Bajracharya VS 2030: no. 28.

[10] Cf. the Kel Tol inscription of Mānadeva (Bajracharya VS 2030: no. 17).

[11] See Witzel 1980: 129. This inscription of Jayadeva II is edited in Bajracharya VS 2030: no. 149; cf. also Tamot and Alsop 1996 for the area involved.

[12] Nepalese ms. of the **Śivadharmaśāstra**, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta ms. no. 4077, with the colophon (*sic*, Regmi, Medieval Nepal I: 118f.): *Śri Taittariyasalayadhivāsina kulaputra Ratnasiṁhena likhitam śri Yambukramāyām Śri Mānigvalake paścimarathyām nivāsinah rajaka Gadādharasiṁhena karaniyam pustakam Śivadharmmam.*

[13] For Kashmir, see Witzel 1986a, and 1994: notes 118, 140: a *Taittirīya-īśvara* is referred to in the Nīlamata Pur. 1152, and what appears to be South Indian Brahmins (Pañcarātrins) are mentioned as well. Taittirīyas are otherwise found in northern India only in Assam in c. 600 A.D. (for Bhāskaravarman's Nidhanpur inscription, see Witzel 1980: 130). Even nowadays, Nambudiri Brahmins officiate for half of the year at Badrinath (F. Staal, oral comm. 1974), and other South Indian Bhaṭṭas at nearby Kedarnath (Michaels 1994: 117 n. 11), both situated high up in the Kumaon Himalayas. In Nepal, the Paśupatināth temple priests are said to have come from Kerala (Nambudiri, see however Michaels 1994: 116ff.); they were replaced by Bhaṭṭas from the Gokarṇa area only in c. 1730; documents exist for them since 1735 A.D. On these substitutions and invitations, see Witzel 1986a: such imported Brahmin groups are, conveniently for the king, politically isolated. Note that the Paśupatināth Bhaṭṭas are still said to have to marry outside of the Valley; for details on their status, see Michaels 1994. For a single Vādhūla Taittirīya in Yakṣamalla's time (1468, 1471 A.D.) see Regmi 1966: vol. 3, 82, Michaels 1994: 120.

Nothing is known directly about Veda study during the Licchavi period. The *trayī,* however, is mentioned in the Satyanārāyaṇ inscription at Harigaon,[14] c. ŚS 462/540 A.D., along with some Smṛtis such as those of Manu, Yama, Bṛhaspati, and Uśanas. This inscription is a long hymn to Bhagavān Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa), the traditional author of the Mahābhārata, which is mentioned ("Bhārata") together with the Veda, Śruti, Smṛti etc. It denounces the "evil logicians" (*kutārkika*), *nāstika* and Buddhists (Saugata). Smṛti texts appear already in Mānadeva's Kel Tol inscription,[15] and the word *śruti* next to *dharmaśāstra.*

The situation is similar for the medieval period. There is some evidence of para-Vedic rituals being performed, such as the *koṭihoma* of King Guṇakāmadeva (reigned c. Māgha NS 107-110 = 987-990 A.D.), or the *lakṣahoma*[16] of King Abhayamalla (reigned 1216-55 A.D.)—which requires recitation of the four Vedas (see below). The same is true of the medieval form of the coronation ritual (*puṣyābhiṣeka*[17]), which included quite a number of Vedic mantras and rites.[18] These are attested for King Rudradeva in NS 287/1167 A.D., and several times in the Kaiser and Gopāla Vaṁśāvalīs.[19]

Our sources are more copious for the Malla dynasty, starting with Jayasthiti Malla. But they normally include the same kind of incidental information[20] only: *puṣyābhiṣeka, paṭṭābhiṣeka, koṭyāhuti, lakṣahoma* with *vedapārāyaṇa.*[21] Such Vedic recitation is also part of the *yajña*s mentioned in the Bhaktapur Taumadhi Tol inscription[22] of NS 530/1410 A.D., and the consecration of the Vyāghrabhairava temple of Kirtipur, in NS 635/1515 A.D.[23]

Reciters of the Veda are occasionally mentioned in inscriptions—for example, one Lakṣmīpati Ārādhya Śarman, who was the Rājapurohita and knew the Pada and Krama recitation of the Veda (about the time of *yuvarāja* Dharmamalla, i.e. before 1395 A.D.), or a Vādhūla Brahmin, belonging to the Taittirīya subschool (*praśākhā*), from Coḷamaṇḍala in Tamil Nāḍu, who claimed to know the six Aṅgas of the Veda, in 1471 A.D.[24]

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[14] Bajracharya VS 2030: no. 35.

[15] Bajracharya VS 2030: no. 17.

[16] In addition, a *pakṣaśrāddha* was also performed.

[17] See Pant 1976 and Witzel 1987.

[18] See Witzel 1987 for a detailed description of the medieval and modern *rājyābhiṣeka*, especially that of the late King Birendra.

[19] See Bajracharya and Malla 1983; cf. Pant 1976. See also Petech 1958: 68.

[20] See Witzel 1976a: 21 ff.

[21] There is a **Vedapārāyaṇa-vidhi**, ms. E 1041, 6 fols., Devanāgarī, NGMPP Reel No. E 83/15.

[22] Regmi 1966, vol. 3: 46, inscr. XLV.

[23] Regmi 1965, vol. 3: 100ff., inscr. LXXXVIII, in the context of a repair of the Vyāghrabhairava figure, undergoing the *daśakarma* rites (necessary for installation of the deity in the figure), with *vedamantravidhāna*. The inscription (lines 6, 23) mentions an *ahorātrayajña* as well.

In addition, there is a string of mentioned Vedic rituals that begins with the inscription of King Ānandadeva (1127-1167 A.D.) which has the princes Yaśomalla and Someśvara as *dīkṣita*s of the Agnihotra and other rites in c. 1140 A.D.;[25] these rituals are further attested by Śrauta manuscripts of NS 553/1433 A.D., NS 727/1607 A.D. (and some others, see below), and by some later inscriptions in southern Patan, where they are still practised at the Agnimaṭha.

Again, the same state and private rituals have been mentioned during the reign of the Shaha dynasty.[26] From this period we also have notices about some Vedic rituals that were and still are actually performed, and about some influx of texts and priests from North India; in some well-known cases Vedic Śrauta rituals were sponsored by Nepalese nobility but were performed in Benares.[27]

Nowadays, only the Yajurveda is studied; however, in the western hills apparently some Sāmaveda survives as well.[28] There is a sore need to take a closer look at the Vedic tradition of Nepal, something that has hardly been done so far. Most Vedic scholars did and do not expect results here. Nepal is conspicuously absent, for example, from the list of Śrauta performers in Staal's *Agni,* though at least the Agnihotra is still performed in the Valley by a small number of Brahmins.[29] At any rate, it remains unclear, from this brief account, how much oral transmission actually existed in Nepal from the Licchavi period onwards, and how strong it was.

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[24] *vedāṅga-pada-kramādi-sāṁgopaṁga=udbhavāmṛtāmadasandohamāna-Raghuvaṁśodbhava-rājapurohita-dvijavarottama-Śrī-Lakṣmīpati-Ārāḍhya-Śarman,* his son *Śrīpati* and grandson *Gaṇapati* . . . from Dharmamalla's time (Regmi 1966, vol. 3: 37), or a *Vādhūla-sansaṁtatau, deśe Coḍavare hi Taittiri-samākhyāta-prasākhābhidhopaṁcaprāvarake ṣaḍaṅga-paṭhito Nārāyaṇo Bhaṭṭako.* . . . (Regmi 1966: vol. 3, 83, l. 12) in a Paśupatināth inscription of NS 591/1471 A.D.; the same also in 1468 A.D., see Michaels 1994: 120.

[25] Cf. further, Witzel 1986b: 159, n. 11a and 1992: 786 (c. 1400 A.D.). One inscription mentions an Agnihotrī of 1323 A.D. Cf. also Regmi 1966, vol. 3: 20, (l. 22); on the Agnihotra of the Thambu Tol inscription, NS 523/1403 A.D., see Regmi 1966: vol. 3, 40, l.6.

[26] For some details see Witzel 1976a; for the coronation ritual Witzel 1987, including a list of private mss.; these mss. are available on NGMPP Reel No. E 1814.

[27] Staal 1983, vol. 2: 230, no. 346: Pt. Śiromaṇi Śāstrī performed an Atyagniṣṭoma and then a Sāgnicita-sarvapṛṣṭhāptoryāma; cf. also ibid., p. 242 and no. 545. I have heard that my former landlords, the Dixit family of Gairhidhara, Kathmandu, are descendants of this Dīkṣita.

[28] One of the assistant pandits at the Archives knew some Sāmaveda that he had learned from his father; his family comes from the hills west of Kathmandu.

[29] Details in Witzel 1987, 1992.

§ 2. *The Written Tradition*

It is therefore advisable to look more closely at the *written* form of Vedic tradition, something that the NGMPP has enabled us to do more easily and comprehensively.[30]

As is well known, many of the older Nepalese collections are now in government possession: first, those of the Bir Library, including the collections of Chandra Shamsher J. B. Rana and his successors, totalling some 16,000 manuscripts (numbered *prathama - caturtha*), and the large private collection of Rājguru Hemrāj Pāṇḍe,[31] comprising some 8,000 mss., that was bought up by the state in the 1960s after his death (now numbered *pañcama*), plus some later additions. All are housed now in the National Archives. Of these approximately 27,000 mss., some 1,700 are palm leaf mss., which ordinarily makes them older than c. 1500 A.D. (the oldest paper ms. I have seen is dated 1361 A.D.). In addition, there is the smaller but very important private collection of Field Marshall Kaisher Shamsher J. B. Rana of some 730 mss. It contains a wealth of old manuscripts, among them roughly 530 palm leaf mss.[32]

Many of these mss. in government possession feature Vedic literature or material closely related to the Vedas, such as the more than 2,400 *karmakāṇḍa* texts. They essentially correct the disparaging image created by H. P. Śāstri (above). In fact, even he knew that the Bir Library and other libraries had some of the oldest Vedic or para-Vedic mss. available anywhere (such as a *dharmanibandha* of 1040 A.D. in Siddhamātṛkā script, Keśar Library no. 260, see below).

I cannot give a complete survey of all Vedic mss. here, especially in view of the fact that the project has filmed, before and after my time, a number of texts that I have not yet seen,[33] but even the evidence from the older collections of the National Archives (collections *prathama* through *pañcama*, hereafter 1-, 2-, etc.) is quite representative.[34] In the following, I mention and discuss the more important and/or older mss. linked with Veda tradition.[35]

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[30] Generally speaking, the older Vedic mss., mostly on palm leaves, seem to be concentrated in the NGMPP films B 22 (Upaniṣad), B 32 (Veda), 36-37 (Ritual), A 20 (Chandas), and A 84-95 (Upaniṣads and Vedānta). Dharma texts begin with B 32/42. For some details see below, passim. The Dharma section (Veda, Dharmaśāstra, and non-Tantric Karmakāṇḍa) had 4,832 mss. in 1975, of which 199 were palm leaf mss.

[31] For some notes on his Buddhist manuscript collection and his cooperation with European and some Indian scholars, see E. Garzilli, elsewhere in the present journal.

[32] HMG's foreign ministry has its own small collection, including for example, document no.1, a **horoscope of King Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇ**, or a **trilingual travel phrase-book** in Nepali, a Tibeto-Burmese language and English, (written in long hand), as I chanced to observe. This collection was filmed for the government, independently of the NGMPP, by National Archives staff in 1975.

[33] Unfortunately, I have always been putting off looking into the set of early para-Vedic mss. filmed in the early 1970s; for later films from private collections, note the 'Agnihotra' case, below, n. 49.

[34] I have personally seen only some of the palm leaf mss. that were filmed first in 1970 and then subsequently, since I mostly had to describe paper mss. during my time in Nepal (1972-1977). In 1976 we began filming in the

All four Vedas are represented, though some of them, it seems, only due to the collection activities of the Malla kings, especially Jayasthiti Malla (reigned 1382-1395) and Bhūpatīndra Malla (1696-1722). The Sāmaveda has turned up so far only indirectly, in the list of mss. that apparently belonged to the collection of Bhūpatīndra or his *rājaguru*,[36] and among a few late Malla period Gṛhya mss. in Newari script which claim adherence to the Sāmaveda, such as the ms. 1-1696/568.

One reason for the preservation of Veda Saṁhitā mss. may have been, apart from status considerations of the kings,[37] that these texts had to be used in rituals such as the *lakṣahoma*, where they actually have to be read out or recited as *vedapārāyaṇa* (for example, at the Bhaktapur *lakṣahoma* during the monsoon of 1976).[38] *Vedapārāyaṇa* has to be done even if there is no living tradition of recitation available (as indeed was the case with the RV, SV, and AV at the Bhaktapur *lakṣahoma*). This fact may also explain, to judge from available mss., the reintroduction of the AV in Bhūpatīndra's time (see below).

The occasional execution of one of the more complex Vedic rituals also necessitated the presence of some ritual handbooks and post-Saṁhitā and Kalpasūtra texts.

§ 3. The Oldest Vedic Manuscripts

The mainstay of Vedic tradition in the Valley, however, always has been the Vājasaneyi school of the White Yajurveda, right from some of the oldest available (para-)Vedic mss. onwards (note especially the **Kāṇvāyana Śrāddhavidhi**, below). As might be expected, the most common mss. of the very early period, starting with the Newar "Renaissance" of the 11th century, belong to the

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Keśar Library, including its important palm leaf mss. Below I often draw on my old notes of the 1970s and indicate, in each case, where they are inconclusive and unclear.

[35] A discussion of all the paper mss. relating to the Veda that were acquired after H. P. Śāstri's catalogues would be very extensive, and cannot be presented here. I have collected many hundreds of cards dealing with everything from the Ṛgveda to a common *homa* ceremony (*kuśaṇḍikā*) or various types of pūjās devoted to certain deities. Here, I select those that are the oldest mss. available, are pre-Shaha (because of the increasing import of Vedic mss. under this dynasty), and are indicative of the Veda tradition of the Middle Ages. For a brief impression of Veda traditions in Shaha times, see the final paragraphs.

[36] See Witzel 1976a: n. 44; however, there also is another SV ms. (Grāmageyagāna) in the private collection of one Patan Rājopādhyāya family.—Most of the mss. of King Bhūpatīndra or his Rājopādhyāya priest from Bhaktapur, listed in a contemporary *thyāsaphū*, are probably in the National Archives, registered as collection 1-1696—altogether more than 2,000 mss. Interestingly, the whole collection is not mentioned in any one of Śāstri's, Bendall's, or Gambier-Parry's catalogues, though the preceding and following numbers of the first collection *(lagat* 1) indeed appear in all of them; it must still have been kept separate at the time. For such lists see 1-1656/1568, Dharma Vividha 56, NGMPP A 610/23.

[37] Compare, for example, Orissa, where the four Vedas were present and four *rājagurus* were created, one each for each Veda (Witzel 1986a).

[38] Nepalese Buddhists substitute the recitation of the Prajñāpāramitā in their *śāntihoma*, for example in 1976, in front of the Kumārī house at Hanuman Dhoka, Kathmandu.

realm of rites of passage, the Gṛhya-related rituals. However, even the oldest Vedic ms. known so far directly relates to the study of the Veda and the rituals concerned with it.[39]

§ 3.1. Vedic and Para-Vedic Manuscripts

- **Upākarmavidhi**,

1-1473 ca, palm leaf ms., old Newari script, dated NS 180 *śrāvaṇaśukla dvitīyā* = 1060 A.D., NGMPP A 1156/12,[40] Śāstri 1905: iii, 56; Gambier-Parry no. 3: palm leaf ms., 1.5 x 8.75 inches; four lines per folio; 36 + 9 fols., numbered 1-49, of which fols. 8-20 are missing; 9 additional folios with various mantras, in part numbered 1-4.

The ms. begins with: *Oṁ namo brahmaṇe namaḥ | punaḥ | saptarṣibhyo namaḥ | athāta upākarmavidhi[ṁ] vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | śrāvaṇe māse | śravaṇanakṣatrapūrṇamāsyām | athavā hastanakṣatrapañcamī | srāvaṇīkarma kuryāt |*

The ritual relates to the resumption of Vedic studies during the month of Śrāvaṇa (c. mid July/ mid August), when the sacred cord is changed (today's *janai pūrṇimā* ceremony, as mentioned in the quote above). The folios numbered 1-4 begin with: *Oṁ Ṛgvedāya svāha | Jajurvedāya svāha | Saṁvedāya svāha | Atharrvedāya svāha |*

A brief study of the mantras used will quickly indicate its adherence to one Vedic school or the other. Unfortunately, the ms. has not yet been seen by me.

Two other old Upākarma-Vidhis are not dated: **Upākarmamantrāṇi,** 1-1473 kha, palm leaf ms., 49 fols., Newari script; NGMPP A 1156/16; Śāstri 1905: ii, 55; and **Upākarmasnānavidhi** 1-1534 ka, palm leaf ms., 11 fols., Newari script, NGMPP A 1156/27; Śāstri 1905: iii, 63.

The very occurrence of these texts leads to the assumption that Vedic study was (again) prevalent in the medieval period, at least from c. 1100 A.D. onwards. This is supported by the fact that certain Śrauta rituals, which necessitate the proper use of recited Vedic mantras, are attested in inscriptions from the same period (see below, on Agnihotra).

- **Vivāhakarmasamuccaya**,

1-933 kha, palm leaf ms., 10 fols., Newari script, NS 233/1114 A.D., NGMPP A 1136/4; Śāstri 1905: xi, 26.

Begins:

līlāvalokanaparasparadṛṣṭipātair āliṅgitāṅgapulakāñcitaśaṅkarasya |
devyā sahaiva caraṇau praṇipatya samyak strīṇāṁ vivāhasamayasya vidhiṁ pravakṣye ||

Ends:

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[39] Old Śukla Yajurveda mss. are on NGMPP reel no. B 32 (**Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā**, B 32/26-29, 31; **Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra**, B 32/30, etc.). Note also a **Vāmadevasaṁhitā**, ms. 1-1145, Veda 364, A 597/15, in Newari script. Dharmaśāstra mss. start at B 32/42.

[40] Identification of NGMPP films personally and with the aid of Grünendahl 1989, whose book has been most helpful in this respect.

iti vivāhakarmmasamuccayaḥ samāptaḥ | *saṁvat 233 āśvinaśuklanavamyāṁ budhadine likhitam asti*

As the title indicates, this is a handbook on marriage rituals.

- **Daśakarmapaddhati,**

1-1536 ga, palm leaf ms., 36 fols., Newari script, NS 296 /1176 A.D., NGMPP B 36/1
Dated: *samvat 296 caitraśuklapūrṇamāsyāṁ rājādhirājaparameśvaraśrī ax?aladevasya vijayarājye pustako yaṁ likhitam asti,* i.e. under King Amṛtadeva; Śāstri 1905: xi, 65; Petech 1958: 69.

Collections of *saṁskāra* rituals are often called *daśakriyā* in Nepal; see for example the *Vivāhakarmasamuccaya*, below § 4.2.

- **Sandhyāvidhi,**

1-1320 ṅa, palm leaf ms., Newari script, NS 401 *caitra kṛṣṇa pañcamyām*, i.e. 1281 A.D., NGMPP B 36/31; Śāstrī 1905: xi, 45. Deals with the daily dawn/dusk rituals.

- **Kuśaṇḍikā[homa]karmavidhi,**

1-1473 ṇa, palm leaf ms., 58 fols., Newari script, NGMPP A 1153/7; Śāstri 1905: xx, 56. Deals with a brief form of *homa* ritual.

Some other mss. reflect more general, non-Vedic Hindu rituals, such as: **Anantavrata-vidhi** 1-1320 ja, NGMPP B 37/19, Śāstri xi, 46, copied in Śrāvaṇa of NS 405/1306 under Anantamalla; **Pratiṣṭhā-paddhati**, 1-1633 jha, NGMPP A 1154/6, Śāstri xi, 77-8, copied in Kārtika of NS 396/1296 A.D. Śāstri 1905: xviii ff. has several more such mss., such as **Śivarātri-vidhāna, Saptamīvrata-kathā, Agastyavratavidhāna,**[41] **Ekādaśīvrata-māhātmya, Ekādaśīvrata-vidhāna, Caturthī-vidhi, Viṣṇu-pratiṣṭhā**, etc.

Of special importance for medieval Vedic tradition is the

- **Kāṇvāyana Śrāddhavidhi,**

1-1320 gha, palm leaf ms., 12 fols. Newari script, NGMPP A 52/2, Śāstri 1905: xx, 45.

This is an old, but unfortunately undated ms. It must belong to the Kāṇva sub-school of the Vājasaneyins. The Kāṇvas are found, during the medieval period, in neighbouring Bengal, Orissa, and in southern Tamilnadu (Coṛamaṇḍala). Even today they are represented in various small areas, such as Pandharpur, Maharashtra, and they are strongly represented in Orissa. I have not yet seen the manuscript, which should be studied in detail, since later on only the Mādhyandina sub-school of the Vājasaneyins was and is still found in Nepal. At an earlier time, Kāṇvas may have immigrated from Bengal, as some Brahmin families indeed did in the 15th century (Witzel 1976a: 21).

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[41] This should be of some interest given the fact that Agastya (Canopus) cannot easily be seen in the more northern parts of northern India, see Yano 1994: 233sqq. The work is nevertheless found in mss. of Kashmir and in the Kṛtyakalpataru of Bhaṭṭa Lakshmīdhara, edited by K. V. Rangasvami Aiyangar (Baroda: Oriental Institute).

That the Yajurveda was the dominant tradition in the Valley is not surprising, given that the Yajurveda *adhvaryu* priests are the main actors in Śrauta ritual. Indeed, available figures on the distribution of Vedic learning among the four Vedas usually show the Yajurveda heading the list (Witzel 1986a); for such Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa texts see below.

Of the appendices to the Veda (Vedāṅga), we find an old ms. of Piṅgala's **Chandaḥsūtra**, NGMPP A 20/11, 20/27, and a **Caraṇavyūha** on A 88/15.

§ 3.2. The Oldest Smṛti Manuscripts

Closely related to these (para-)Vedic mss. are the ones that deal with other aspects of *dharma*, such as the Smṛtis. They have been largely unexplored so far. Nepal has preserved, for example, the oldest available ms. of the Manu Smṛti.[42]

- **Manu Smṛti**,
  Keśar Library, an old palm leaf ms., copied in 1182 A.D. in Benares, in early Nāgarī (see below, for the script). The colophon reads in my slightly faint and somewhat illegible photo:

> *adya ha śrīmad vārāṇasyāṁ mahā[rā]jādhirajaśrī jjayaccandra-deva-rājñe* | *saṁvat 1239 āṣāḍha sudi 7 budha* || *utthāsanika rāütaśrī surahi ātmārthe idaṁ pustikā* <|> *likhāpitam iti* || *cha* || *-x-* || *cha* || *maṅgalaṁ mahāśrīḥ subhaṁ bhavatu lekhakapāṭhakāyor iti* || *cha* || (followed by line fillers)

- **Mānava Dharmaśāstra**,
  1-1475 ka, incomplete palm leaf ms., 96 fols., Devanāgarī; NGMPP 1161/2, Śāstri 1905: ix, 60 (not seen yet).

Other Smṛtis include the **Parāśara Smṛti**, ms. 1-1478 pa, Śāstri 1905: ix, 60; the **Nārada Smṛti**, ms. 1-1230 *ña*, Śāstri ix, 44; or a private palm leaf ms., 120 fols., Newari script, dated NS 500/1380 A.D., NGMPP E 193/7 (for details on the Nārada Smṛti, see the recent edition by Richard Lariviere), and on its adaptations into medieval Newari by Maṇika see Śāstri 1905: x; also note the **Newari translation of Manu** in a later paper ms., 1-1247, Dharmaśāstra no. 754, dated NS 721/1601 A.D., NGMPP B 431/4. For some later Dharma-related mss., many of them from Mithilā, or texts composed there in the later medieval period, see Śāstri 1905: xi sqq.[43]

There also are some very old Dharma compendia:

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[42] A new edition is under preparation by P. Olivelle, Univ. of Texas, Austin.

[43] In passing, attention may be drawn to the important Śaiva text **Karmakriyākāṇḍa** of Somaśambhu, composed in 1073 A.D. Nepalese mss. have been used by Brunner-Lachaux 1998: mss. 5-2973, 4-1565, 1-27, 1-772 (Pāla script, 1151 A.D.); 1-1697 (palm leaf ms., not later than 13th cent.). The second oldest ms. is not mentioned: ms. 1-1361 ca, Karmakriyākāṇḍa [Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī], palm leaf, 107 fols., Newari script, B 26/2, Śāstri 1905: xi (1-1361 ña) 49, 95; copied on Śrāvaṇa 12 of NS 326/1206 A.D., under King Arimalla at Pūnampura; cf. Witzel 1996, on the connections between Kashmir and Nepal.

- an unknown, untitled ***dharmanibandha*** of 1040 A.D. written in "transitional Gupta" or Siddhamātṛkā script, Keśar Library no. 240, 168 fols., NGMPP C 26/11 (Witzel 1986a : 67 n. 32, 71 n. 89). It has been named "Dharmaśāstraṭīkā, Yājñavalkyasmṛtiṭīkā" and seems to follow the order of Manu (chapter 2, etc.); however, the author still quotes several times from the lost Kāṭhaka Dharmasūtra (fol. 3/4 *iti Kāṭhake*) instead from its successor, the Viṣṇu Smṛti;
- interestingly, also a recent Devanāgarī copy of the **Yājñavalkya Smṛti**, made for Rājguru Hemrāj Pāṇḍe in VS 1982/1925 A.D., from an unspecified palm leaf ms. written in Gupta script dated Samvat 122, most probably NS 122/1002 A.D. It is ms. 5-2125, Dharma collection no. 788, NGMPP B 432/19;

- an old Smṛti collection, called "**Smṛtisaṁgraha,**" Keśar Library n. 423, a palm leaf ms., 55 fols., dated NS 184/1064 A.D., written in transitional Gupta or Siddhamātṛka script, NGMPP C 44/8; it includes texts of the Smṛtisaṁgraha, Bṛhaspati, Smṛtisamuccaya, Sārasamuccaya,[44] Bhāradvāja, Vyāsa, an unknown Smṛti text, Saṁvarta, Śātatāpa, and Dakṣa (Witzel 1986a: 67 n. 32).

- **Ratnakaraṇḍikā** by Droṇa, 1-1633 cha, palm leaf ms., 200 fols., Nāgarī script, rather worm-eaten, 10 x 1.5 inches, 5 lines per fol., NGMPP A 1161/10, Śāstri 1905: x-xi, 77, 127; dated Samvat 1189/1132 A.D. This actually is one of the oldest dated Nāgarī ms. in the collection.[45] Beginning and end given by Śāstri p. 127: it identifies itself as *vājasaneya . . . kriyāvidhāna*; however, colophon: *iti droṇaviracito ratnakaraṇḍikā-nāma-smṛtisamuccayaḥ samāptaḥ* II *oṁ svasti samvat 1186 vaiṣākhaśudi. . . .*; ends with *ekādaśyupavāsa.* (Another ms. in the India Office Library; not yet seen.)

- Another old Smṛti compilation is the **Padmanābhasaṁgraha** (and **Yogīśvarasaṁgraha**), composed in Benares by the two authors after whom the work is named. Śāstri describes it as based on the some 20 original Smṛti sources and, in addition, some little known ones such as Śākaṭāyana, Kārśṇājini, Pracetas, Vṛddha Pracetas, Garga, Bhṛgu, Marīci, Pulastya, and a Vārtikakāra(?). There are three incomplete mss. in the Archives: Ms. 3-360 G, palm leaf ms., 29 fols., incomplete, Bengali (or perhaps early Maithili?) script, dated NS 366 *vaiśākhaśukla 3 ravau* (April 20, 1246 A.D., Petech 1958, 87; 1984, 84), and copied by a *nayapāladeśīya* scribe in the reign of King Abhayamalla; NGMPP B 35/32; Śāstri 1915: xxxi, 19, 90.—Ms. 3-397 D, palm leaf ms., 63 fols., Newari script, dated NS 540/1420 A.D.; NGMPP B 33/28.—Ms. 1-1294 A, **Tithinirṇaya** by Padmanābha; paper ms., 52 fols., Devanāgarī, dated NS 827 *śrāvaṇa kṛṣṇa*

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[44] Obviously, different from the **Sārasaṁgraha**, 1-1380 ka, of NS 375/1255 A.D., Śāstri 1905: xix , 48, which is a Tantric work on *homa* (see below).

[45] Note however, a **Rāmāyaṇa** ms. in a slightly older style, of Śaka Samvat 1076/1154 A.D., copied in Tirhut by a Nepali (for details, see Bendall in: Śāstri 1905: 18; Petech 1958: 192) and depiction in Rajbanshi 1974: 95.—Surprisingly, such mss. are not used by Indian palaeographers (just as Nepalese historical data are hardly ever used, and if so, with the wrong dates for the Mānadeva era). While early Nāgarī mss. are extremely rare in India, except for some mss. very carefully preserved by the Jainas of western India, they are much more common in Nepal. Yet they are neglected, even when published in *Kailash* as long ago as 1974. This means, for example, that we shall have to redo A. K. Singh's *Development of Nāgarī Script*, 1991, as far as Nāgarī in ancient mss. is concerned. He only uses a few western Indian Jaina mss. and misses all northern Indian Nāgarī mss.; the book's bibliography also is quite lacunal; cf. Witzel 1986c.

13 (the monsoon of 1707 A.D.), which would make it one of the oldest mss. in recent Nāgarī dated in NS; NGMPP A 503/11; Grünendahl 542, Śāstri 1905: xv, 184.

- Also, some of the oldest mss. of the well-known compilation **Kṛtyakalpataru** by Lakṣmīdhara, made under King Govindracandradeva of Kanauj, come from Nepal: Kṛtyakalpataru, Śrāddhakāṇḍa; palm leaf ms. 5-716, 143 fols., 11.5 x 2 inches, string hole, 5 lines per fol.; Nāgarī script, dated Samvat 1233 *vaiśākha vadi samadine* (spring of 1176 A.D.); NGMPP B 34/4; Grünendahl 763, Śāstri 1915: xxxi, 106 (in his time belonging to Pandit Sūryacaraṇa Rājopādhyāya, "of Bengali extraction");[46]—Kṛtyakalpataru, Niyatakālakāṇḍa, Keśar Library, no. 417, old palm leaf ms., 333 fols. and various additions (in part in Śāradā; see Witzel 1996), old Devanāgarī script of c. 1200 A.D., undated; with many variae lectionis deviating from the printed edition.—There also is another palm leaf ms. in Maithili script.

§ 4. The Medieval Veda Tradition

§ 4.1. Medieval Imports from Northern India

There is a clear influx of North Indian (para-)Vedic mss. slightly before and especially after the fall of the Mithilā kingdom of Tirhut (N. Bihar) due to the Muslim invasion under Ghiyas ud-Din in the winter of 1324 A.D.

- **Pārvaṇaśrāddha,**
1-772 ṅa, NGMPP A 56/1; LS 171, c. 1291 A.D., Śāstri 1905: xi, Gambier-Parry no. 4, 13 palm leaf fols., 4 lines per fol., 1.5 x 10 inches; script, according to the catalogues: Bengali (but probably Maithili; not yet seen); dated *La[kṣmaṇa] Saṁ[vat] 171, māgha vadi 3 candre.*

About one-third of the left portion of the fol. has been destroyed; it begins: *[. . . a]parāhnopakrame sucir vṛtvā (i.e. bhūtvā) dvijenāhūtān viprān nimantrayet | caturasropaliptabhūmau sthitān viprān dakṣiṇā sukhaḥ* . . . (line 3) . . . *amukagotrāṇāṁ pitṛpitāma[hā]prapitāmahānāṁ parvaṇaśrāddha*. . . .; and ends: . . . *prativacanaṁ tato rāmadevyaṁ gītvā gṛhaṁ praviśet.*

The text deals with a particular type of ancestor ritual. Again, a study of the mantras used will indicate its school adherence.

- **Vājasaneyināṁ Vivāhapaddhati,**
by Rāmadatta, son of Gaṇeśvara, grandson of Devāditya, the author of the *Sugatisopana* from Mithilā (Śāstri 1905: xii); 1-1634 ṅa, palm leaf ms., 42 fols., in Maithili script (but cf. below); LS 414/c. 1533 A.D., NGMPP B 37/10; Śāstri 1905: xix, 80, where no further details are provided.

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[46] On such medieval immigrants see Witzel 1976.

- A different early *vivāha* handbook is found as Gambier-Parry's ms. no. 5. He calls it "***Vivāhakarmasamuccaya***" (a compendium of marriage rites); 16 palm leaf fols., 5 lines per fol.; 1.5 x 9.5 inches; script "Newari, near Devanāgarī."[47]

It begins: *Oṁ namo brahmaṇe* I *atha daśakriyāvidhir likhyate* I *tatrādau yavodakam kṛtvā* I *sūryārgham* I *oṁ ā kṛṣṇeti* [= RV 4.17.14c] *pūjanam* I *oṁ* I *viśvebhyo devebhyo agne vaiśvānaradevebhyo vivāhoddeśa ābhyuda[y]ike vṛddhiśrāddhe yavodakam idam āsanaṁ vṛddhiḥ* I

fol. 9a: *oṁ vivāhakarma kathyate* I *tato bahi[ḥ]sālāyām* I *āsanam ahāryāha* I *oṁ sādhu bhavan āst<h>ām* [PGS 1.3.4] *arccayiṣyāmo bhavantam* [PGS 1.3.4]I

It ends: *kṛṣṇo 'sīti* [VS 2.1] *prokṣaṇīyātrodakenāgnitriḥpradakṣiṇī kṛtya* I *adityai vyundanam asīti* [VS 2.2.] *śeṣodakam praṇīte nidhāya* I *pavitraṁ ca khaḍgaṁ ca* I *prokṣaṇī.*

The mantra quotes align it with the Vājasaneyi school.

§ 4.2. Old Gṛhya Manuscripts

The occurrence of such handbooks devoted to the rites of passage is not surprising, since these rituals are essential, and as such survive in all parts of South Asia even today, if often in shortened versions, mostly based on handbooks of the sort described above. However, some old palm leaf mss. directly refer to Gṛhya ritual.

- **Gṛhyokta-Vidhi (Vājasaneyin),**

1-1077 ḍha, palm leaf ms., 43 fols., Newari script, NGMPP A 1153/8; Śāstri 1905: iii, 33: according to him, dated Samvat 844/1724 A.D., but the colophon has: *śrīrājarājeśvara-śrīśrījayajyotir-malla-devasya vijayarājye,* which requires the date to be changed to c. NS 544/1424 A.D.; thus probably a misprint for NS 544;

- **Gṛhyapaddhati,**

1-1473 ta, palm leaf ms., 36 fols., Newari script; NGMPP A 1152/29; Śāstri 1905: iii, 56-57.
Ends:

> *saradi gaganabāṇe dhūrjjaṭer asya maulau*
> *iyati gatagatake 'smin mecake pauṣyanāge* I
> *viditakaratalārkṣe bhānuvāre viśiṣṭe*
> *likhitam iti sampūrṇaṁ paddhatiṁ sāragṛhyam* II
> NS 550/1430 A.D.;

- **Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa,**

1-1473 na, palm leaf, 36 fols., Newari script, NGMPP A 1160/4; Śāstri iii, 59; Grünendahl: 38 fols. According to Śāstri, it begins with the *kārikā: Biṭ kalpam vā svagṛhyoktam. . . .*

- An actual Gṛhya text has been preserved as well: an old palm leaf ms. of the **Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra,** NGMPP B 32/30.

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[47] Grünendahl (1989: no. 177) compares it with ms. 1-1176 cha, NGMPP A 54/24, 9 fols., Newari script, no. 5.

Further, there are several other old mss. that pertain to Vedic and para-Vedic rituals, such as the following:

- **Śāntimantrāṇi**,

1-1534 kha, palm leaf ms., 27 fols., Newari script, dated NS 667/1548; NGMPP A 1156/27; Śāstri 1905: iii, 63.
Begins, according to Śāstri:

> *oṁ namo brahmaṇe | oṁ svasti no mimītām aśvinā bhagaḥ svasti devy aditi . . . | svasti pūṣā asurohadhātu na svasti |*

Ends:

> *viśve devāḥ śāntiḥ brahma śāntiḥ . . . śāntir eva śāntiḥ . . . śāntir eṣā | śubhamṁ śreyo 'stu saṁvat 667 bhādra . . . |*

Read: [RV 5.51.11, not in Vājasaneyi tradition:] *oṁ namo brahmaṇe | oṁ svasti no mimītām aśvinā bhagaḥ svasti devy aditi[r anarvaṇaḥ] | svasti pūṣā asuro dadhātu naḥ svasti [dyāvāpṛthivī sucetunā]* | [Ends: VS 36.17] *viśve devāḥ śāntir brahma śāntiḥ [sarvaṁ śāntiḥ]śāntir eva śāntiḥ [sā mā]śāntir edhi |śubhaṁ śreyo 'stu saṁvat 667 bhādra . . . |*

- **Gaṇayāga-vidhi**,

1-1113 gha, damaged palm leaf ms., 37 fols., Newari script, Śāstri 1905: iii, 35; deals with offerings to the Marut-gaṇa, etc. (not yet seen).

§ 4.3. Old Śrauta Manuscripts

Much more important are the following mss., some of the few which bear witness to an actual medieval Śrauta tradition in Nepalese mss.

- **Iṣṭisūtra**,

part of Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra (ch. 2 sqq.), ms. 1-1559 ga, palm leaf ms., 79 fols., Newari script, Śāstri 1905: iii, 70 (not yet seen).

An import from Mithilā seems to indicate the study of Śrauta ritual as well:

- **Vājasaneyināṁ Ahorātrāśrita-dharmanibandha** [ācārādarśa],

1-1320 ḍha; palm leaf ms., incomplete at the end, 39 fols., Maithili, NGMPP B 33/17, Śāstri 1905: xviii, 47.
Begins:

> *. . . dākṣitoraṇayajñeṣu(?) vibudhānandadāyine |*
> *harir abdhisutāvaktrasomapītī punātu vaḥ |*
> *ahorātrāśrito dharmma iha vājasaneyināṁ |*
> *nibadhyate niva . . . bhi |*
> *tatra Manuḥ | brāhme muhūrte budhyate (i.e. budhyeta). . . .* [Manu Smṛti 4.92].

The title may refer to the discussion of a form of the Soma rituals of the Vājasaneyi school, here called *ahorātra* ('lasting a day and a night') perhaps equivalent to the *atirātra* ('overnight') form of the Agniṣṭoma. Śāstri (1905: xviii) takes it, probably more correctly, as referring to the daily rites of the Vājasaneyins.[48] The quotation (*somapīt[h]ī) punātu vaḥ,* however, though pointing to Śrauta ritual, is non-Vedic (not in Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance: http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~witzel/VedicConcordance/ReadmeEng.html); the case can only be decided by a new inspection of the ms.

Finally, Śrauta tradition is also attested by an old palm leaf ms., which treats the *dārśāpaurṇamāsa*, many other *iṣṭi*, the so-called *agnihotra* (actually, a *sāyaṁprātarhoma*), and other solemn rituals.

The so-called **Agnihotradarśapūrṇamāsa** ms. of NS 553/1433 A.D., Keśar Library, ms. no 28, NGMPP C 3/8; it probably should be called *Yajurvidhāna,* given that many of its subcolophons have *brahmokte yajurvidhāne...* (Witzel 1976a: 21, 1986b: 160; cf. below for a more recent ms. of the Yajurvidhāna). It describes various Vedic rituals, such as *agnyādhāna, dārśapūrṇamāsa-iṣṭi, sāyaṁprātar(homa), vaiśvadeva(homa), anvārambhaṇa-iṣṭi, paśubandha-iṣṭi, śava-iṣṭi, preta-iṣṭi, sarpabali, indrabali, aṣṭaka-anvaṣṭakapārvaṇa, nāga-iṣṭi,śunāsīra-iṣṭi, mitravinda-iṣṭi*, etc. (some of the mantras used are extraneous to the Vājasaneyi school; see Witzel 1986b: 173).

The colophon has: *samvat 553 śrāvaṇaśukle* ‖ *paurṇamāsī pratipadyā tithau* ‖ *śravana pradadheneṣṭa* ‖ *āyuṣmāyoge* ‖ *somavā* ‖ *saṁpūrṇa* ‖ *śrī pithobaṁlanihmaṁ yetāgṛha* ‖*śrī xx deva soma-śramanasya pustakam* ‖ *likhitam idam* ‖ The ms. was copied for a X-deva Somaśarman (a Somayājin?) on Sunday, the first day (a full moon) of Śrāvaṇa NS 553 (i.e. in the monsoon of 1433 A.D.), in the Bolima ward of Patan, where Śrauta-performing Rājopādhyāya Brahmins live even today (Witzel 1986b, 1992, Levy 1990, Toffin 1993).

In this context, compare also the **Sārasaṁgraha**, 1-1380 ka, of NS 375/1255 A.D.; not in Grünendahl. The colophon, according to Śāstri 1905: xix , 48:

> *iti vedavaiṣṇavasiddhāntarahasye sārasaṁgrahe lakṣahomavidhau navamaḥ paricchedaḥ parisamāptaḥ* | *śubham astu* | *samvat 375*

The text deals with the Tantric interpretation by Vaiṣṇavas of such (para-)Vedic rituals as the Lakṣahoma ritual that is similar to the Agnihotra of Patan—and so bears comparison with medieval Purāṇas such as the Agni Purāṇa (Witzel 1992). Given its early date, it may provide a further link in the history of the development of the Patan Agnihotra.

Another ms. from the same ritual tradition of Patan is dated in NS 727/1608 A.D. (private collection, Patan). It is called ***Agnihotra.yā karmma*** on the title page, has 33+5 fols. in a thyāsaphū, is written in Sanskrit with some interspersed Newari injunctions. It is an autograph of the first Patan *rājaguru* Viśvanātha Upādhya, and has the colophon:

> *iti Kātyāyanabhāṣe darśapūrṇamāsyā vidhāna samāptam* ‖ *samvat 727 caitra kṛṣṇa dvitīyāyāṁ tithau bṛhaspativāsara likhita saṁpūrṇṇa Śrī-Viśvanātha-Śarmaṇā svātmārthe likhitam idam.*

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[48] Probably another form of the overnight ritual is the one mentioned in an inscription of NS 635/1515 A.D. published in Regmi 1966, vol. 3: 100 sq., in the context of a repair of the Vyāghrabhairava figure; line 6, 23 mentions the *ahorātrayajña.*

There also are a few more recent mss., this time written in Devanāgarī, that were kept at the Patan Agnimaṭha in the 1980s: a **Prasādaṣoḍaṣadamanārohaṇayajña-vidhi**, a **Pavitrāroh- aṇa**(-vidhi), an **Agnihotrahoma-vidhi**, and a **Dārśapaurṇamāsa-vidhāna** (following the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra, a thyāsaphū of 121 fols., no date, but supposedly going back to a ms. of NS 884/9 = 1763-9 A.D.).

The **Agnihotrahomavidhi** was filmed on November 27, 1977 (NGMPP G 152/2) at Bhaktapur. According to the colophon it is called *Paṁcāgninityahomavidhi*, 21 fols., and was copied in Devanāgarī script in VS 1977 = 1920/1 A.D. (Witzel 1992: 814 n. 43).[49]

All these mss. belong to individual Rājopādhyāya Brahmins of Patan who still perform the Tantric version of the Agnihotra ritual at the Agniśālā (Agīmaṭh) in southern Patan. A detailed description and interpretation of this ritual has been given elsewhere (Witzel 1986b, 1992). Their Dārśapaurṇamāsa, however, closely follows Vedic traditions of the Vājasaneyi school. Truly Vedic versions of the Agnihotra and Dārśapaurṇamāsa (following the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra) are also performed, without the use of any mss., by three other Brahmins in the Kathmandu Valley at Paśupatināth, Thamel and Kumarigal (Witzel 1986b).

Similar mss. of (para-)Vedic ritual, mostly found in thyāsaphūs written in Newari, include the many paddhatis, of rituals such as the **Akṣayāhuti** (Lakṣāhuti?) from Bhūpatīndra Malla's time (dated NS 825/1705 A.D.), 31 fols., NGMPP E 45/2; **Lakṣ<y>ahomavidhi**, a thyāsaphū in Newari, 7 fols., 1-1696/886, Tantra Karmakāṇḍa 404, NGMPP A 624/4; **Lakṣ<y>āhutiyajña-vidhi**, paper ms., 58 fols., NS 789/1669 A.D., NGMPP E 37/3, 1-1696/2058, NGMPP B 527/21; **Koṭihoma** 1-1636/2257, Tant. KK 58, NGMPP B 518/19; **Havanapaddhati** 1-1696/5, 4-337, 1-1696/214, 1-1696/1994, NGMPP B 530/9-11, 13; see also below on the many Rudrī mss.).

The **Kātyāyana Śrautrasūtra**, the Śrautasūtra of the White Yajurveda, is represented by one fragment, a paper ms. of 36 fols. in Newari script from a private collection in Patan, NGMPP E 189/6 (there may be more copies in other Rājopādhyāya collections); the **Kātyāyana Dārśapaurṇamāsa** (KŚS 2) is found in the Karmakāṇḍa section of the Archives, no. 438, 439; and KŚS with commentary, 5-4389, Veda 104, NGMPP B 500/3.

Another, more recent Śrauta ms. is the **Śrautapaddhati** by Padmanābha who lived before the 13th century (the author of a Smṛti compendium mentioned above): paper ms. 3-312 B, 74 fols., Newari script, undated, NGMPP B 503/3 and A 1132/4, Grünendahl 909, Śāstri 1915: 184. It begins with the *ābhyudayikaśrāddha* during the *ādhāna* (establishment of the sacred fires); this would come not from the beginning but only from the latter part of ch. 4 of the KŚS).[50]

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[49] As it so happened, I was trying to gain access to this very ms., which is now used for the so-called Agnihotra at the Patan Agniśālā, after the NGMPP, unbeknownst to me, had already filmed it at Bhaktapur just five weeks before I left Nepal. Later, in the spring of 1985, when working on a DFG project on the Agnihotra and still not knowing about the film, I myself got permission to film the ms., by then smeared with *sindūra* due to constant ritual use. When I came back in the monsoon of 1985, the first thing the Agnihotrī asked me was: "Do you have the photo? I [accidentally] burned my book...." Some weeks later I "discovered" the reel of the ms. filmed (minus the ritual *sindūra* stains) in November 1977.

§ 4.4. Old Sāmaveda and Ṛgveda Manuscripts

While the Yajurveda tradition is fairly strongly represented in old palm leaf and paper mss., there are exceptionally a few ritual texts of the Sāmaveda: an old **Chandogapaddhati**, NGMPP B 37/23, and a **Pārvaṇaśrāddha** of the Sāmavedins, already written in Devanāgarī but still dated in NS (Karmakāṇḍa section no. 793). Similarly, the ritual tradition of the Ṛgveda is found in a single copy of the **Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra** (Newari script, 332 fols., Dharmaśāstra no. 86), NGMPP A 493/5.

§ 4.5. Medieval Ritual Handbooks

Among the older paper mss., we find a number of Śrauta and Gṛhya handbooks from Malla times including the following, all written in Newari script (KK = Karmakāṇḍa section of the National Archives):

Śrautadevārcana (incl. Vaiṣṇava- and Tantra-), 7 fols., NGMPP E 94/31; royal rituals, in part of Śrauta character: **Rājāpati bhalan aochāta**, 14 fols. (in Newari), KK 1700, NGMPP A 456/23, **Rājño vivāhavidhi**, (in Newari), KK 1703, NGMPP A 456/26; **Ajñārikarmavidhi**, a handbook for the *upanayana* (*vratabandha*) of royal Malla boys, 39 fols., dated 879/1759 A.D., NGMPP E 159/20; **Kanyādāna**, (with ŚB accents) KK 385; (others: NS 797, 802, 841) NGMPP A 438/32 sqq., NGMPP B 361/7 sqq.; a *karmakāṇḍa* handbook, thyāsaphū, 1-1696/1606, Veda 151, NGMPP A 593/15; **Kuṣaṇḍīkarma**, 34 fols., dated NS 594/1474 A.D., NGMPP E 167/3, and **Kātyāyanokta Kuṣaṇḍikākarma**, dated NS 798/1678 A.D. and 803/1683 A.D., KK nos. 436, 437, 512 (filmed 11/9/72); **Kūṣmāṇḍahavana-paddhati**, thyāsaphū, KK no. 437; **Grahapratiṣṭhā**, (Skt. and Newari, NS 807), 67 & 54 fols., KK 731-2, NGMPP B 366/36-7; **Gāyatrī** (Puraścaraṇavidhi), 4-1658, NGMPP B 519/2; **Devālayagṛhanirmāṇa-vidhi**, (NS 763, 803, NGMPP A 443/6); **Pūjā-paddhati** 1-1696/610, 1-1696/591, 1-1696/640, 1-1696/615, 1-1696/621, 1-1336 NGMPP A 620/6-9, 12, 14-16; **Pūjā-dravya**, 1-1696/436, NGMPP B 520/10; **Pūjā-sāmāgrī**, 18 fols., NGMPP E 87/5; **Mṛtyuñjayakalpa**, (with Newari transl.), dated NS 924, 1-1597, Dharmaśāstra 760, NGMPP B 431/10; **Navagrahastuti** (with VS type accents), Stotra section no. 716; **Nityārcana-vidhi** (with the *dīkṣāmantra* of the grandson of Yoganarendramalla, NS 813), NGMPP E 155/39; Baudh. **Liṅgārcāpratiṣṭhā-vidhi**, (Samvat 83) 5-1849, NGMPP A 457/49, KK 1805, NGMPP A 457/49; **Nevāri-Śrāddha-vidhi**, KK 1211, NGMPP A 451/14; **Yajña-vidhi**, 1-1696/1901, 1-1696/1555, 1-1696/1659, 1-1696/2202, 1-1696/391, NGMPP A 623/2-24; **Yajña-gṛhapraveśa-vidhi**, 1-618, NGMPP A 623-11; **Yajña-maṇḍapacitra**, 1-1696/1559, 1-411, 1-483, 1-750, 1-1696/913, 1-1696/636, 1-1696/882 NGMPP A 623/13-19 (cf. **Yajñamaṇḍapa** of Indramalla's time, KK 1557, NGMPP A 454/7-8); **Yajña-sāmāgrī**, 1-1696/517 NGMPP A 624/2, 1-2972 (=**Yajña-lekhana-paddhati**) NGMPP A 624/3; **Yavodakavidhi**, 1-771, 1-510, NGMPP B 527/8-9; **Vāstuyāgavidhi**, 5-980, 1-1696/178 NGMPP B 529/2-3; **Vāstupūjāvidhi**, 1-1696/698 NGMPP A 624/12, 1-1696/2174 NGMPP A 624/11, 1-553 NGMPP A 624/10; **Vivāhasaṁkalpa** (mentions Bhūpatīndra Malla)1-702, KK 1783 ka, NGMPP B 512/12; **Sapiṇḍaśrāddha-vidhi**, 39 fols., dated NS 706/1586 A.D.,

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[50] There also is a curious text, the **Paraśurāma(kṛta)kalpasūtra**, 5-6460, Dharmaśāstra ms. 508, NGMPP B 420/23.

NGMPP A 464/13; **Sapiṇḍīkaraṇaśrāddha-kulapiṇḍārcanavidhi**, 20 fols., dated NS 802/1682 A.D. (*secunda manu*), KK 517, NGMPP A 440/27; death ritual: **Pājaśavayātrā** (in Newari), 6 fols., KK 1702, NGMPP A 456/25; **Sandhyāvidhi**, 1-1618, 9 fols., NGMPP B 500/10. Note that the Bahi section of the National Archives contains many ritual thyāsaphūs of the later Malla period, for example one that speaks of a joint *homa* of all three kings of the Valley at Teku.

General handbooks for the various rituals in the course of a year include: **Saṁvatsarakṛtya**, ms. 1-1037, 1-1654, 588 fols., dated NS 806/1686 A.D., NGMPP A 546/1, 545/6; similarly, but now in Devanāgarī , a **Nepālavarṣakriyā**, 21 fols., NGMPP E 95/2. There are a few mss. (partly in Devanāgarī?) of the typical Jaṁko rite of old age, called **Bhīmarathayāga** or **Ṣaṣṭhivarṣapūrtiśānti**, usually attributed to Śaunaka, NGMPP B 381/8, 10, 18,19, NGMPP A 463/10, NGMPP E 98/18, though one of them is said to be from the Hiraṇyakeśi Brahmakarma Samuccaya, KK 2182, NGMPP B 381/10.

And, very interestingly, there are some mss. with special rules for Śūdras: **Śūdrasaṁskāra**, 4-2253, Dharmaśāstra ms. 1002, NGMPP B 447/14-448/1; **Śūdra-vivāha(karma)vidhi**, KK mss. 2100-3, dated NS 814/1694 (*secunda manu*), NGMPP B 380/5-8; cf. also the **Śūdraśrāddha(karma)paddhati/vidhi**, one ms. dated NS 744/1624 A.D., KK 2104-10, 213-4, NGMPP B 380/9-15, 18-19, and the "**Nevarīśrāddhavidhi**," 12 fols., KK 2111, NGMPP A 451/1; **Śūdrapūjākaraṇa**, KK 2111, NGMPP B 380/16; **Śūdrasuvarṇakumāra-vivāha**, KK 2116, NGMPP B 380/21; **Śūdrapretaśrāddha-vidhi**, KK 2099, NGMPP B 380/4; **Śūdradharma(tattva)**, Dharmaśāstra ms. 1000-1, 4-688 (dated VS 1851), 5-5077, NGMPP A 542/15, A 543/16.[51]

Many more such Śrauta and Gṛhya handbooks, written in Nāgarī, were imported from Benares and elsewhere in India during the past few centuries; for a brief, summary list see below.

Finally, an interesting (and, as far as I know, not yet studied) case is the ritual handbook for the Indrajātrā festival, composed by Śaktivallabha Bhaṭṭācārya [Arjyal] (b. 1724), as the 9th chapter of a work called **Dānapravāsa** (see Pant 1993: 80). The same author also figures in Śāstri 1905: 266-7 (Grünendahl 611), with an undated Tantric work, Sudhātaraṅgiṇītantra. The text in question is **Indrayātrotsavakathana**, paper ms. 3-320 A, 17 fols., in Devanāgarī script, undated; NGMPP A 1150/10, Grünendahl 929, Śāstri 1915: xxxii, 191.[52]

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[51] Note also the Devanāgarī paper mss.: **Kṣatriyasandhyā**, Karmakāṇḍa (KK) section 583 kha, 18 fols., NGMPP A 467/30, -vidhi KK 583 gha, 402/5; **Kṣatriyapradakṣiṇa-paddhati**, KK 583 ga, NGMPP A 467/31, **Kṣatriyagāyatrī-vidhi**, KK 583 ka, NGMPP A 467/29.

[52] I leave aside the hundreds of ritual handbooks dealing with general *pūjā* and the worship of various post-Vedic deities, as well as a very large number of mss. dealing with general questions of *ācāra*, "karmakāṇḍa" in the wider sense.

§ 5. Medieval Veda Recitation as Preserved in Manuscripts

We now turn to actual Śruti manuscripts in the National Archives and in private collections which date as far back as 1324 A.D. and probably even c. 1250 A.D. However, it is not just the fact that a fairly sizable number of such Vedic texts have been preserved in the largely Śaiva and Buddhist Kathmandu Valley but that they actually contain important information about the earlier *oral* tradition of the texts—information hardly, if at all, available from outside the Kathmandu Valley.

Therefore, we must pay special attention to the oldest mss. preserved, not just because of their age, though they are indeed the oldest Vedic mss. on the subcontinent or anywhere else, but because they contain, in their markings of Vedic accents (*svara*) and their orthography, remnants of traditional recitation that is not available elsewhere.

Importantly, some of these mss. are in Newari script, which means that they were not (or no longer) imported from northern India but were copied inside Nepal.

§ 5.1. The Older Style of Vājasaneyi Recitation

As expected, the best represented group is that of the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā of the White Yajurveda. Of great importance is the

- **Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā Padapāṭha** and **Kramapāṭha**,

ms. no. 1-694, Veda collection no. 20, NGMPP B 32/29 and A 1270/9; labelled "*Śuklayajurvedasaṁhitā*" (or "*Vaidikamantrasaṁgraha*" by Śāstri 1905: ii, 18), 100 fols., numbered 1-96 and 1-4 respectively (these latter corrected *secunda manu* to 97-100), palm leaf, written in older Devanāgarī script, red accent marks. The ms. is dated Śāke 1324 = 1402 A.D. and stamped in 1913 A.D. ("*śrī candra samser 1970*"). The main ms. contains the *padapāṭha* of VS 21-40, while the four additional folios contain the *kramapāṭha* of VS 35.2-22 (marked '18') and the beginning of VS 36.

The colophon of the main ms. runs as follows:
| *pada* || *catvāri[ṁ]śatyo dhyāyaḥ* ||*śubham a* {string hole} *stu* || *maṅgalaṁ śrīḥ* || *śāke 1324 bhadraśudi dvitīyaṁ va [. . .] upādh[y]āya-śrī-yaśonandair likhitam idam śrīśivānandasya p[ar]ārtha likhitam dalā* || *0* ||

The ms. was copied on 31 July 1402 in the Kathmandu Valley and is one of the oldest dated Vedic mss. available.[53] The script is old-fashioned, with superscribed medial *e, o,* or *śa* with its left part looking like a '2' close to the top line. I once thought that the ms. was perhaps copied from an older one having all these traditional features. However, quite unexpectedly, the accentuation system used in this ms. is the one found in the Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā (MS): the atypical sequence of Anudātta-Udātta-Svarita as seen in the word *rūpā́ṇi* is expressed, not as commonly done in most Vājasaneyi, Ṛgveda and Taittirīya prints, as *rūpāṇi'*, but as *rūpā'ṇɨ*, with the typical strike-through Svarita symbol of the MS system. The Abhinihita Svarita is written as a circle surrounding the syllable in question, but it often is just a large half-circle (not closed on top); in all cases, the preceding syllable is marked with an Anudātta stroke below the line.

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[53] The Ṛgveda ms. (RV 7.625 - 10.191) at Benares Sanskrit University, no. 140 XIV, a paper ms. written in Nāgarī, is dated Samvat 1419/1362 A.D.; another one from Benares is the Śrutivikāsa, an unknown commentary by Govinda Bhaṭṭa, on *aṣṭaka* 8 of RV, Samvat 1367/1310 A.D.—The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa at the Raghunāth Temple Library in Jammu is not, as claimed in the catalogue, of Samvat 1145; this being only a reading mistake for Samvat 1745, as confirmed personally in 1973 (the script, too, is late Nāgarī). The Berlin Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa of 1431 A.D., from Gujarat, is also one of the oldest Vedic mss.

As this is a Padapāṭha text, where each word is given in *pausa* form and separated from the other by Daṇḍa, the unaccented words and initial, unaccented syllables are marked by Anudātta strokes below the line, as in RV/TS type accentuation. Thus VS 21.1:

i̱ma'ṁ | me | va̱ru̱ṇa̱ | śru̱dhi' | ha'vaḥ̱ | a̱dya' | ca̱ | mṛ̱ḍha̱ya̱ | tvā'm | a̱va̱syu'ḥ | ā' | ca̱ke̱ | =
imám | *me* | *varuṇa* | *śrudhí* | *hávaḥ* | *adyá* | *ca* | *mṛḍaya* | *tvā́m* | *avasyúḥ* | *ā́* | *cake* |

• Another **Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā** ms., in a private collection, is very important in this context. I could make a fairly detailed description of it, which is given below. The ms. contains VS 1-20 and is written in the old Devanāgarī of c. 1250 A.D.[54]

This ms. is quite similar to the VS Padapāṭha, ms. no. 1-694, of 1401 A.D. It is written in older Devanāgarī with medial *e, o* in the still older *pṛṣṭhamātra* fashion (not as superscribed *e, o* as in ms. no. 1-694); it seems to belong to the same tradition, but seems to be older than ms. no. 1-694. It may in fact be one of the oldest Veda mss. available, preceding its sister ms. by some one hundred to two hundred years. The script is very similar to that of the earliest ms. of the Manu Smṛti, kept at the Keśar Library, which was copied in 1182 A.D. in Benares.

This VS ms. is accented throughout—except for Adhyāya 9, which is written in the same script and by the same hand. For some reason it was not accented with red marks after being copied. Fols. 5-9 are missing, fols. 5-7 have been replaced by palm leaves of the same size, with the text written in the standard medieval Newari script of the last few centuries, but without accents: 4b ends in VS 1.27 with *payasvatī,* and fol. 5a continues with VS 2.19 (end). There is a gap from 2.20 to 3.8, which begins on the old fol. 10a with: *yate* | *prati.*

Other peculiarities include: fol. 18 is tied through the string hole with a single thread, as are fols. 35 and 48. Fols. 21, 129, 130 stand out in that several words or lines have been rewritten, exactly over the old Akṣaras and in the kind of script used in the ms. Obviously these lines had been damaged by constant use and had become too faint.

Curiously fol. 56 has a second, rather small string hole around which no text is written. If one turns over the folio, this extra string hole exactly matches the position of the other ones. Obviously, it was misplaced when the piercing took place before writing, and had to be pierced twice. This indicates that even in northern India, where the ms. presumably was copied, one did not

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[54] For a photo see the cover of HOS-OM 2 (Witzel 1997).

Prof. Madhav Prasad Pokhrel Collection, Kathmandu, Nepal

discard an unused folio for such a minor blemish. Similarly, even the old Pāli ms. in Gupta script preserved in the Archives is written on previously damaged leaves (von Hinüber 1991).
The MS. contains a Saṁhitāpāṭha of VS 1-20. Unfortunately there is no detailed colophon at the end (and nothing after Adhyāya 10 either); fol. 136a ends with:

|| -X- || *viṁśatimo dhyāyaḥ* || *saṁhitāpustakaṁ samāpatam* || *X* ||

Orthographic peculiarities of this ms. include: homorganic nasal is usually written, it seems without exception, e.g. *-ṅ g-* VS 3.23 fol. 11a, lines 1, 4; *-m p-* not *-ṁ p-; -n no-* not *ṁno* VS 3.25; note *ṁvv* in VS 3.19 fol. 11a, line 1, 11, l. 2; *ṁll* in VS 3.21 fol. 11a, l. 2 *smīṁ llóke* but *m̊l* in VS 3.21 *(a)smim̊ loko* fol. 11a, l. 2.

Anunāsika is regularly written before the sibilants and *h*: *sam̊hitāsi* in VS 3.22 fol. 11a, l. 3. It generally takes the form of a full circle with inserted dot, but is also abbreviated to a half-circle (open on top) with dot, similar to the later *candrabindu*. However, this Anunāsika sign is not written on top of the Akṣara but on the same level as all other characters. Note that *m̊* is found with a subscribed 2 on fol. 12a, l. 2: m̊$_2$.

Doubling of consonants after r: *-rjj* in VS 3.20, *-orjja stho-*, fol., 11a, l. 1, 3; note also *ramaddhvam* VS 3.21 fol. 11a, l. 2. Interestingly, *-s p-* is written once as *rāyaḥs poṣa* VS 3.20 fol. 11a, l. 1-2, which shows the gradual shift towards the style of writing with Visarga so common in medieval northern and western India. There are a few mistakes, e.g. VS 3.21 reads *smín goṣṭhè* > *smīn noṣṭh*|e| (⊓ Svarita).

The accent system is the same as in the sister ms. no. 1-694, which basically follows the MS style: (*rūpā'ṇɨ* = *rūpā́ṇi*); however, the Anudātta is written as a perpendicular stroke below the line and therefore stands somewhat apart from its counterpart in the preceding mss., and also from those in the following section (MS/KS type, see below): *rụpā'ṇɨ* = *rūpā́ṇi*.

The Abhinihita Svarita is written as a circle surrounding the syllable in question, but it often is just a large half-circle (not closed on top); in all cases the preceding syllable is marked with Anudātta stroke below the line, e.g. in VS 3.21:

> re'vaṭī ra'madhvam ạsmi'n yonāv asmi'n noṣṭh⌈e⌉
> 'smi'ṁ llo' $\boxed{\text{ke}}$ 'smi'n kṣaye- | ihai'va sta mā'pagata || 21||
> = *révatī rámadhvam asmín yónāv asmín goṣṭhè 'smī llókè 'smín kṣáye | iháivá sta mā́pagata*

- **Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā**, Śaka 1350, 15 November 1428 A.D., ms. 1-736 ca, copied in Bhaktapur in Newari script (according to my old notes; not available in photos to me at this moment); not found in Grünendahl, but cf. *Vaidikamantrasaṁgraha* 1-736 ṅa, palm leaf ms., 84 fols., NGMPP A 1155/7; this is not listed in the Saṁkṣiptasūcipattra (cf., however, 1-736, copied in the reign of Yakṣa Malla in NS 549 jyeṣṭha śukla 5; see Regmi 1965: vol. 1, 427; Rajbanshi 1965: 39). Cf. also the various other mss. called *Vaidikamantrasaṁgraha*; they all are palm leaf mss.: 1-1206 (see below), 1-1362, 1-1584, 2-234, 3-608, 4-32; a new examination of the manuscripts is needed to clarify these mutually contradictory notes.

This may be the same ms. as the rotograph described as no. 1 in Gambier-Parry 1930. According to Gambier-Parry, this palm leaf ms. consists of 165 fols. on 110 rotograph sheets, 5-6 lines per folio; fols. 1-36, 37-80 (with additional numbering 1-44 in the right margin), 102-161; an additional fragment contains "a table of contents or pratīkas"; size 1.5 x 9.5 inches, original numbering 45 (64), script: "a form of Newārī approaching Devanāgarī" (cf. Rajbanshi 1965: 38). The colophon runs:

> *śākasamvatsare 1350 margaśiramāse śuklapakṣe na[va]mī pūrvvabhadranakṣatre vajrayoga candravāre* || *Śrībhaktagrāmapaṭṭane rājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭārakaraghuvaṁśāvatāraśrīśrī Jayajakṣa-mal[l]a-devasya vijayarājye likhita Śrīdharanandai[ḥ]* ||

The date corresponds in all respects to Monday, November 15, 1428. At the end of VS 10, on fol. 37a, the hand changes, and a small colophon reads: *śrīmat śrī Nepāla Maitala śrī Bhaktipuranagarāt* || which may refer to one of the Mithilā Brahmins allegedly imported by Jayasthiti Malla; he copied this ms. in Nepal. The ms. contains the VS (Mādhyandina) Saṁhitāpāṭha, but is unaccented.

- **Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā**, Śaka 1350/1427 A.D., ms. 1-784 gha (= 1-787 gha in Śāstri and Grünendahl), 182 fols., *Saṁhitāpāṭha [śuklayajurvedīya]*, palm leaf ms., in Newari script, Śāstri 1905: ii, 23, Grünendahl no. 82, NGMPP B 32/28. The colophon according to Śāstri:

> *śākasaṁvatsare 1350 śrībhaktagrāmapaṭṭane rājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-śrī-Jayajakṣa-malla-devasya vijayarājye likhitaḥ Śrīdharanandaiḥ* ||

- **Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā**, Śaka 1350, 15 November 1428 A.D., ms. 1-736 ca, copied in Bhaktapur in Newari script (according to my old notes; not available in photos to me at this moment); not found in Grünendahl, but cf. Vaidikamantrasaṁgraha 1-736, palm leaf ms., 84 fols. NGMPP A 1155/7, Śāstri 1905: ii, 19; this is not listed in the Saṁkṣiptasūcipattra. Cf., however, 1-736, copied in the reign of Yakṣa Malla in NS 549 jyaṣṭha śukla 5 punarvasu-nakṣatra vṛddhi-yoga ādityavāra; see Regmi 1965 ; S. M. Rajbanshi 1965 .

Later, but no less important are a few paper mss.:

- **VS fragments**, called "*śuklayajurvedasaṁhitā uttarārdha,*" found in ms. 5-3586, Veda 459, NGMPP B 511/4; altogether 26 fols. numbered 66-88, old country paper, 23 x 10 cm, written in older Devanāgarī, with *pṛṣṭhamātra* vowels, and other old features such as *sth* looking like normal Nāgarī *s+cha*; conventional orthography without the VS style doubling of consonants.

The ms., in spite of its title given by the Archive pandits, contains parts of the VS, including Adhyāyas 15-16, and at the end a complicated *vikṛti* of VS 7, using some abbreviations of the repeated beginning *upayāmagṛhīto 'si* of VS 7, and with a numbering system deviating from the common one of the VS.

These various sections all use the conventional accent marks of the VS, written in red. However, the part that is of interest here is numbered *secunda manu* as fols. 115-155 on the left and fols. 53-56, 58 on the right margin (an older numbering is illegible). It contains VS 37.1-39.9. The spelling is conventional, i.e. there is no doubling of consonants before *y,r,v,ś*, etc., and the homorganic nasals are correctly written; the occasional mistake *kh* for *ṣ* suggests northern Indian origins; some special Visarga signs are used.

The accentuation system again is that of the Maitrāyaṇi school, i.e. *rū̠pā'ṇɨ = rūpā́ṇi*, with the typical strike-through Svarita symbol of the MS system. The Abhinihita Svarita is written as a circle surrounding the syllable in question, the preceding syllable being marked with an Anudātta stroke below the line. Of two successive Udāttas, the second one remains unmarked. But an Udātta before an Anudātta retains the Udātta sign.

While the three mss. detailed above use the MS style of accentuation, we also find one that is close to that of the Kaṭha school of the Black Yajurveda.

- ms. 5-4323, Veda 470, NGMPP A 601/6, 514 fols., a "*prakīrṇa*" bundle that contains **four separate mss. of the VS**, written in Devanāgarī and marked with the usual VS accents, paper mss, approximately 24 x 11 cm. The first part, fols. 87-211 (VS 11.4-20) is dated Samvat 1817; the second part, fols. 1-265, contains VS 1-20.83; the third, fols. 1-117, VS 21-40.16, and the beginning of 40.17; no colophon. The fourth part consists of eight additional, unnumbered and fragmentary folios of about the same size, containing VS 38.6-40.11 (beginning), and in a different, larger hand, VS 4.5 (end)-4.13 (beginnning).

Only the last additional leaf, made of old but undated "country paper," is of interest here: it contains VS 37.7-15, is written in Devanāgarī, and bears accent marks, and the numbering of mantras is in red; an accented *pratīka* precedes the full mantra. The orthography is surprisingly conservative but already has the medieval doubling of consonants (before resonants and sibilants, and following a vowel + *r* or *h*) that is prominent in many VS mss. after Uvaṭa's commentaries (see Iyer 1974).

The accent system is of the type *rūpā'ṇi = rūpā́ṇi*. There is the use of a "bent" Udātta symbol used for marking Udātta before Anudātta, (Witzel 1974, section 2.3.2). Two consecutive Udāttas are both marked by an Udātta stroke.

The same system is found in some later paper mss. of the VS, kept at the Hoshiarpur VVBVRI & VVBISIS (former DAV College) library: Camakādhyāya, VS 18,1-29, ms. no. 89 (see Witzel 1974, section 2.3.1). Their colophon reads: *iti camakādhyayaḥ*. Script: the standard Devanāgarī of the past few centuries.

The manuscript uses accentuation of the type *rūpā'ṇi = rūpā́ṇi*, with a bent "Udātta sign" used after a *pracaya* syllable, under the one before a Svarita (also used for marking Udātta before Anudātta). Of two successive Udāttas only the first one is marked. The independent Svarita is marked by a subscribed Devanāgarī cipher 4, and in the preceding syllable by a gravis-like mark ("bent Udātta") on top of the line : VS 18.1 . . . *mè svaś ca* = *[jyotíś ca] me svà*$_{4}$*ś ca* (for more details see Witzel 1974).

Finally, for a specimen of other old VS mss., note an old palm leaf ms. of the **Puruṣasūkta** taken from the VS, Gambier-Parry no. 2: VS 31 (Puruṣasūkta), along with extracts from VS 17, 19 etc.; 14 fols., 1.5 x 9 inches. He thinks that this is "apparently not the MS. of the Puruṣasūkta referred to in H.S., p. 42" (that is, 1-1206 ga, 16 fol., RV 1.1.1). There is some confusion among similar mss. here: Grünendahl, however, identifies this as his no. 186, 1-1206 ṅa, Vaidikamantrasaṁgrahaḥ, VS 1.1, incl. Puruṣasūkta, 61 fols., script Newari, NGMPP B 32/26.

Śāstri (1905: ii, 42 sq.), however, says that ms. 1-1206 gha is the one containing Puruṣasūkta (Newari script, damaged, Samvat 444 Caitra, NGMPP B 32/31), and that ms. 1-1206 ṅa, (Vaidikamantrasaṁgraha [yajurvedīya], palm leaf ms., Newari script, NGMPP B 32/26) begins (?) with: *iṣetvorje tvā* ... [VS 1.1]. This also includes the Puruṣasūkta (VS 31 ~ RV 10.90). There is still another Vaidikamantrasaṁgraha, 1-1206 ga, palm leaf ms., Newari script, 23 fols., NGMPP B 32/32. All are mentioned by Śāstri (1905: ii).

The occurrence of early Veda mss. with the accents marked in MS and KS fashion raises, of course, the question as to the original recitation of these texts in the Kathmandu Valley (and in some parts of northern India covered by the mss. mentioned above). My impression of traditional Rājopādhyāya Veda recitation, as still carried out today, is that it maintains the Udātta as the highest tone, directly mirroring the medieval accentuation marks described above (Witzel 1974). In this respect, it conforms to the only other case where this has been reported, the RV Padapāṭha, as recited by the Nambudiris of Kerala at the other end of the subcontinent (Staal 1961).

All other Veda schools, including the Ṛgvedins of Kerala in their Saṁhitāpāṭha and the other Vājasaneyins of Nepal (Gray 1959) nowadays recite the Udātta as a rising tone, while the Svarita rises slightly higher than the Udātta and then falls abruptly, giving a particularly striking sound to the Svarita. This kind of recitation mirrors closely the way it is represented in the mss. and modern prints of RV, AV, TS, VS.

The matter does not rest here, however. It is a little observed fact that, in New Indo-Aryan and in Dravidian as well, long vowels, especially *ā*, carry a high pitch (cf. Hock 1986: 97 sqq.). This naturally interferes with the Vedic Svaras, creates extra "Udāttas," and sometimes even results in the semblance of Vedic tones where none are recited (such as in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa recitation of the Saurāṣṭra Atharvavedins). I noticed this earlier but I did not pursue the matter further at the time (Witzel 1974). Nowadays, the case can easily be settled, not by an individual's more or less keen sense of tones, but by employing computer technology of voice recognition and analysis, something I have not yet found the opportunity to do.

§ 5.2. *The Later Style of Vājaseneyi Recitation*

Other Veda mss. of the later Malla period conform to the by now common Vājasaneyi tradition of recitation, as found in northern India and in Nepal. This is reflected in the thousands of mss. which have the common accent marks of the printed editions. Among the Malla period mss., the following one is typical.

- **Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā** 1-20, ms. 1-623, Veda 438 NGMPP A 599/9, written in Newari script, and accented with the usual VS accents (not in Śāstri or Grünendahl). Some peculiarities include: the orthography of many of the later VS mss. and prints, with the doubling of consonants before resonants and sibilants (Iyer 1974); various Anunāsika marks (◉, half ç etc.), Anudātta strokes that are not straight but slightly bent. Special signs for Svaritas are: subscribed "ω": *tanvωò yò smān* , inserted " ς " : *vy* ς *à*, etc.

There are many older palm leaf mss. of various fragments of the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, such as:

• **VS, "Vaidikamantrasaṁgraha,"** [Daśakarmapaddhati], 1-1583 ṅa, NGMPP B 36/8; palm leaf ms., 29 fols., Newari script, beginning with VS 20.14 (*parisamūha* mantras), Śāstri 1905: ii, 73, Grünendahl no. 350. Begins:

> *ye devā devahe hunaṁ devāsaś cakramā vayam* |
> *agnir mā tasmād enaso viśvāṁśuṁ catvaguṁ hasaḥ* || (*sic,* Śāstri), read:
> *ye devā devaheḍanaṁ devāsaś cakramā vayam* |
> *agnir mā tasmād enaso viśvān muñcatv aguṁhasaḥ* ||

Medieval Newari mss. (such as, below, the Agnihotra ms. of Keśar Libary) sometimes spell out the so-called *guṁ-kāra*, that is the Anunāsika, with the Nāgarī spelling *ga* or *guṁ* (instead of the conventional symbol —. It is clear that Śāstri's reading in his catalogue has not been checked against the text of the VS, as is the case, too, with:

• **VS, Saṁhitāpāṭha**, VS 1-7; 1-273 kha, palm leaf ms., 31 fols., Newari script; Śāstri 1905: ii, 10; NGMPP B 32/27. Includes, according to Śāstri:

> *tvam agne vratayā asi deva āmahīvva* | *tvaṁ yajñe ... rāsvayātmā mābhūyā ... devo naḥ savitā vasor ddātā vaḥ tā kāma pratigrahītā kāmaitandha* | *48* | *iti saptamo 'dhyāyaḥ* |
> read: [VS 4.16:] *tvam agne vratapā asi, deva ā martyeṣv ā* | *tvaṁ yajñeṣv īḍyaḥ* | *rāsveyāt so mā bhūyo bhara, devo naḥ savitā vasv adāt* [VS 4.16] | ... *kāmo dātā kāmaḥ pratigrahītā kāmaitat te* [7.48]

• **VS, Saṁhitāpāṭha**, 1-1077 ṭa, palm leaf ms., 64 fols., Newari script, NGMPP A 1157/5, Śāstri 1905: ii, 33; contains, according to Śāstri, RV 10.140.5, which is in fact VS 12.110 (see below). Begins, variously, according to Śāstri, with:

> *dhruvo 'si dhruvo 'yayamomāsmin pāyatane* || *28 (?)* || *īṣkarttāram adhvarasya pracetasaṁ kṣayantaguṁ bhāṣaso madaḥ* | *rātiṁ vātasya subhagāṁ mahīmuṣadadhāsi....* || (?) 111 ||
> read: *dhruvo 'si dhruvo 'yaṁ yajamāno 'sminn āyatane* || *28* [VS 5.28]; *īṣkartāram adhvarasya pracetasaṁ kṣayantaṁ rādhaso mahaḥ* | *rātiṁ vātasya subhagāṁ mahīmuṣadadhāsi....* || 110 || [VS 12.110]. Note the *guṁkāra* before *bh(āṣaso).*

• **Vaidikamantrasaṁgraha**, 1-1363 ḍa, palm leaf ms., fols. 13-18, Newari script, Śāstri 1905: ii, 53, NGMPP A 1159/6; according to Śāstri, on fol. 16 there is a mantra from RV, 4.58.9, on fol. 13:

> *oṁ kanyā iva vahantu me tava ukṣaṁ jānā abhi cākaśīmi* | *yatra somaḥ bhūyate yatra yajñe ghṛtasya dhāra abhi tat paraṁ te* ||

This is RV 4.58.9, or rather VS 17.97; read:

> *oṁ kanyā iva vahatum etavā u añjy añjānā abhi cākaśīmi* | *yatra somaḥ sūyate yatra yajño ghṛtasya dhārā abhi tat pavante* ||

• **Vedamantrāṇi** [Vājasaneyisaṁhitā], 1-1647 ka, palm leaf ms., 11 fols., Newari script, NGMPP A 1157/3, Śāstri 1905: ii, 84.

• There are many later, **paper and thyāsaphū mss.** of the **VS**, written in Newari and usually without accents (unless indicated). They include ms. 1-1101, Veda 473, dated NS 729/1609 A.D., NGMPP A 602/4; VS 1-40, ms. 1-1620, Veda 359, dated NS 764/1644 A.D., with two miniatures of four *ṛṣis* (colour slide NGMPP A 226), NGMPP film A 597/10; VS 1-40, ms. 1-1000, Veda 464, NGMPP A 600/5, containing some additional notes, dated NS 831/1711 A.D., with drawings of the personified four Vedas and another deity on the ms. covers; VS 1-40, ms. 5-4098, Veda 463, NGMPP A 600/4, dated NS 835/1715 A.D., with an index on the last folio; excerpts from VS 1-40, no accents except on fols. 11-27, NS 764/1644 A.D.; ms. 1-1620, Veda 359, NGMPP A 597/10.

There are dozens of other **excerpts from the VS**, again in Newari script, including: ms. 1-1386, Veda 211, NGMPP A 594/17, VS 2.29 and following, 34.10, etc., variously dated NS 783/1663 A.D. and NS 820/1700 A.D.; ms. 1-1636/482, Dharma Vividha section 128, NGMPP B 516/2, **VS 40** (Īśa Up.) etc.; or **Pitṛsūkta**, ms. 1-1696/1426, Veda 215, NGMPP A 594/21, a Newari thyāsaphū of 11 fols. dated NS 768 Mārga/1647 A.D.; ms. 1-1956/1461, Veda 212, NGMPP A 594/18, a Newari thyāsaphū of 32 fols. dated NS 570 Āśvina/1450 A.D.; or ms. 1-1956/1938, Veda 206, NGMPP A 594/12, a Newari thyāsaphū of 9 fols., **Rātrisūkta**, ms. 1-1602, Veda 300, containing VS 22.1, 3.9, etc.

Among the many **Rudrī** mss. (usually containing VS 16 sqq.), there are ms. 1-1696/1784, Veda 336, NGMPP B 505/24; ms. 1-1696/1739, NGMPP B 504/17; ms. 1-1696/28, Veda 340, NGMPP B 504/28; a **Rudrādhyāya,** ms. 1-1696/1350, NGMPP B 504/18; **Rudrābhiṣeka** (VS 16-17), ms. 5-1140, Veda 349, NGMPP B 5-04/37; **Mahārudrābhiṣeka-karmavidhi,** ms. 1-1554, Veda 277, NGMPP A 596/18; VS 18.1-29, ms. 1-1620, Veda 355, NGMPP B 505/3; VS 31 etc. (also called **Rudrī**), ms. 1-1101, Veda 342, NGMPP B 504/30. The films taken at Bhaktapur contain further **VS** mss. (NGMPP E 41/3, 79/24, 155/11, 134/3, 148/3, 191/3 (NS 950), 213/18; some others in this section are merely labelled "Veda" and are in need of rechecking).

Some of these excerpts have unusual numberings (Kāṇva school?), e.g. **Rudrābhiṣeka** containing VS 16, 18: ms. 5-1140, Veda 331, NGMPP B 504/19.

A curious case is ms. 1-1101, Veda 335, NGMPP B 504/23, some of whose mantras are not found in Bloomfield's Vedic concordance. Many of these mss., those with the accession number 1-1996, typically come from a group of mss. that formerly belonged to a Rājopādhyāya family of Bhaktapur before being confiscated in the early 20th century by the Rana regime.

Already written in Devanāgarī, in spite of being dated NS 935/1815 A.D., is a VS "with *rāga,*" 6 fols., NGMPP E 141/26; VS 1-20, 3-500, Veda 472, NGMPP A 602/3, was copied Śāka 1730/1788 A.D. at Kathmandu.

§ 5.3. *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*

The Brāhmaṇa of the Vājasaneyins has been found only rarely so far: **Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa** 2.2.2.12 sqq., a paper ms. written in Newari script, without accents, NGMPP B 506/11; the so-called **Agnirahasya** (ŚB 10), is preserved in ms. 3-163, Veda 1, NGMPP B 492/2 and, typically again, in the Bhaktapur collection 1-1696/517, Veda 248, NGMPP A 595/22. The ŚB is also quoted extensively, without accents, in the Agnihotra ms. of NS 553 (above), which quotes especially from ŚB 10 (Witzel 1986b, 1992). I suspect that further searches in the multitude of ritual handbooks of the Malla period will produce more evidence. The Śrautasūtra of the Vājasaneyins, Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra, is rarely found (see above).

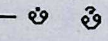
From among the Upaniṣads of the White YV, we find an old palm leaf ms. of the **Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.** (BĀU), with commentary, on NGMPP B 22/9. Other YV Upaniṣad mss. are on the NGMPP films A 84 sqq., namely from the White YV: **BĀU**, NGMPP A 94/6, **BĀU** with Vārttika, NGMPP A95/4; **Īśa Up.**, NGMPP A 84/3, 13, 15; **Āraṇyaka Up.**, NGMPP A 84/41; **Jābala** Up., NGMPP A 88/27; from the Black YV: **Kaṭha Up.**, NGMPP A 87/22; **Taittirīya Up.**, NGMPP A 88/10, 12-14, 16-17; **Nārāyaṇa Up.**, NGMPP A 90/2-3; **Maitr. Up.**, NGMPP A 94/9.—Unclear is NGMPP A 87/2, 21 "Upaniṣad"; note also **Caturvedasāra Up.**, NGMPP A 88/13; for the RV, SV, and AV Upaniṣads, see below.

§ 5.4. Some Older Vājasaneya Manuscripts in Nāgarī

While all Vājasaneyi mss. discussed so far are autochthonous to the Valley or are very old imports, there are numerous recent imports from India (see below). Among them, the following Nāgarī ms. of the **Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā** (which is, after all, followed by nearly all groups of Brahmins living in the Kathmandu Valley) is of some importance.

- **Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā**, ms. 1-1212, Veda 474, NGMPP A 602/5. It is written in Devanāgarī (still with *pṛṣṭhamātra* vowels) on paper, 9.8 x 29 cm, 93 fols., worm-eaten, the right part of the last leaf torn off. It contains almost all of the Saṁhitā (VS 1-40.17, i.e. VS 1-38.10, fragments of VS 39, 40). The colophon is only partially preserved; it has been torn off:

> *]ara dine liṣitaṁ | brahmendrasvāmi ātmanārthe likhitam || śubha [. . .] ddham aśuddham vā mama doṣo na vidyet | jalaṁ randhe thalaṁ randhe randhesi [.*

On the recto side of the first leaf some Vedic mantras (RV 5.51, RVKh 2.43) have been added in Newari script; the ms. therefore seems to have been in the Valley for some three or more centuries. A similar sign of its age is supplied by the fact that the scribe still used *pṛṣṭhamātra* vowels, which even in Gujarat, the stronghold of this fashion of writing Nāgarī, went out of use in the 17th century. The ms. indeed closely resembles the type of older Nāgarī used in Gujarat in the 16th century. It may be one of the several imports from that area. The sign for the anunāsika is the usual one of VS, but with the *candrabindu* turned upside down — 

The accentuation, while in general following the usual one of VS (type *rū̱pāṇi'* =*rūpáṇi*), differs in as much as the Svarita is not marked by a stroke but by a small circle above the line, thus: *rū̱pāṇiº* = *rūpáṇi*. Further, the independent Svarita of all types is marked by a half circle below the line, thus: *dhānyàṁ* written as: *dhā̱nyā̱m, prasavè 'śvinor* as *prasave̯ 'śvinor, yò 'smān* as *yo̯ smān,* etc.

Finally, there are many more late copies, on paper in Nāgarī, of **Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā** or VS-related later paper mss., such as ms. 5-1101, Veda 433, NGMPP A599/4, a Devanāgarī ms. of 266 fols., containing VS 1-20; or the many **Rudrī** mss. (VS 16 sqq.), e.g. ms. 1-1150, Veda 347, NGMPP B 504/35, a ms. of 17 fols. written in Newari, containing VS 17.32 sqq. written with the usual VS accentuation (but also some RV mantras); or ms. 1-1696/912, NGMPP B 504/37; ms. 1-1697/27, Veda 208, NGMPP A 594/14, a thyāṣaphū containing VS 34.10 etc.; ms. 1-1620, VS 5.23 sqq., NGMPP A 594/20.

Further, there are the many individual *sūkta*s, such as the **Dvādaśasūryasūkta**, ms. 1-134, Veda 155, NGMPP A 593/19, 3 fols., in Newari script; or the many copies of the **Pitṛsūkta**, ms. 1-1696/1428, Veda 215; the **Pitṛsūkta** ms. 3-195, Veda 213, NGMPP A 594/19 is a Devanāgarī ms. of 7 fols.; finally, from the RV, the **Gaṇeśasūkta**, ms. 1-1340, Veda 109, NGMPP B 500/8, a Newari ms. of 4 fols. (RV 2.23) with RV style accents. The list could be prolonged at will (cf. below, on more recent mss.).

Turning now to the other Vedas, mss. of which have been preserved in the Valley, the Ṛgveda is fairly prominent while the Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda are little represented.

§ 5.5. Ṛgveda Manuscripts

- **Puruṣasūkta**, ms. 1-1206 gha = Grünendahl no. 185: [Vaidikamantrasaṁgrahaḥ, (incl.)] Puruṣasūkta, 61 folios, script Newari, NGMPP B 32/31, NS 444/1324 A.D., Śāstri 1905: ii, 42, where the date *saṁvat 444 caitra* is given (cf. above, under VS mss.).

- **Vaidikamantrasaṁgraha**, Ṛgvedīya, ms. 1-1206 ga, palm leaf, Newari script, 16 fols., see Śāstri 1905: ii, 42; beginning with *agnim īḍe* (sic, not *īḷe*? RV 1.1.1.; not yet seen).

In sum, from the early medieval period, only relatively few RV mss. survive, quite in contrast to the YV. The situation improved in the later Malla period. This is indicative of "Sanskritization," the wish of the Malla kings to be on par with kings such as those of Orissa who furthered the study of all four Vedas, and even had four Rājagurus, selected from students of the four Vedas.

There are several more RV mss. from the late Malla period, written on paper in Newari script. For example, King Bhūpatīndra Malla had a few RV mss. copied; they are now preserved in the National Archives. Such Malla time mss. include a ms. of:

- **RV** 1.1.1-1.71, in Newari script, paper with string hole, the colophon unfortunately rubbed off, ms. 1-720, Veda 46, NGMPP A 591/2 (this ms. also includes mantras from the **Taittirīya Āraṇyaka** or **Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra**);

- various **excerpts from the RV**, ms. 1-1340, Veda 150, RV 1.106 (**Rātrisūkta**), NGMPP A 593/14; ms. 1-1340, Veda 152, RV 1.106, NGMPP A 593/16; ms. 1-702, Veda 156, RV 6.75.2, etc., NGMPP A 593/20; ms. 1-1340, Veda 110, **Garuḍasūkta**, with VS style accentuation, NGMPP B 500/9; also, there are individual *sūkta*s, such as the **Gaṇeśasūkta** (RV 2.23), ms. 1-1340, Veda 109, NGMPP B 500/8, a Newari ms. of 4 fols. with RV accents; the unaccented mss.: **Dvādaśasūryasūkta,** ms. 1-134, Veda 155, NGMPP A 593/19 (it seems to have been taken, along with several others, from Veda ms. no. 150); **Pavamānasūkta** ms. 1-1696, Veda 102, thyāsaphū, NGMPP A 594/8; a **Pitṛstava**, supposed to have come from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, ms. 1-1489, Veda 209, dated NS 815/1695 A.D., NGMPP A 544/15; **Garuḍasūkta**, ms. 1-1340, Veda 110 (with VS style accents), NGMPP B 500/9.

In some cases an individual *sūkta* is transmitted along with a ritual description: **Manyusūktavidhāna**, ms. 5-4438, Veda 267, NGMPP A 596/8, and ms. 5-6436, Veda 266, NGMPP A 596/7

(= RV 10.83); and a **Manyusūkta**, with *pūjāvidhi* and *vidhāna*, ms. 5-4437, Veda 263, NGMPP A 596/4. There also is a **Ṛgveda-Nirṇaya**, ms. 1-1637, Veda 40, 9 fols., NGMPP A 590/13. A **Gāyatrīsarvasva**, ms. 1-1192, Veda 114, 111 fols., NGMPP B 500/13, is dated NS 867/1747 A.D.

Among the important later **Ṛgveda** mss., already being written in Devanāgarī inside the Valley or imported from India—numbering more then fifty—are the following: a small Ṛgveda fragment (8.12.1-13), paper ms. ms. 1-1372 (correctly 1-1377), Veda 240 (not in Śāstri, Grünendahl or Gambier-Parry), NGMPP A 595/14, 19 fols., written in Devanāgarī with pṛṣṭhamātra vowels, with the same accent marks as MS; on fol. 1b of a ms. that contains **Aitareya Brāhmaṇa** 1.1-1.30. A RV fragment, RV 5.1-6.41 (4th aṣṭaka), ms. 5-3602, Veda 63, NGMPP B 494/4, is written already in Devanāgarī, but is still dated NS 914/1795 A.D. and also NS 979/1850 A.D., which makes it one of the earlier Nāgarī mss. written after the conquest of the Valley.

There seems to be a single (?) RV Upaniṣad, the **Aitareya Up.**, on film NGMPP A 84/11 (note the list of Upaniṣads in Śāstri 1905, appendix: mss. examined by Prof. Bendall).

§ 5.6. Atharvaveda Manuscripts

The Atharveda became quite rare everywhere in medieval India (Witzel 1985). The Śaunaka/Vulgate version is concentrated in Gujarat and surrounding areas; the Paippalāda recension survived, after 1200 A.D., only in Orissa (and very tentatively in Kashmir). It is surprising, therefore, to find a ms. of the AV (Śaunaka) in Nepal.[55]

King Bhūpatīndra Malla (1696-1722 A.D.) of Bhaktapur had many Vedic mss. copied (cf. Regmi 1965: vol. 2, 243), often in quite uniform thyāsaphū format (especially in the Bhaktapur collection, numbered 1-1696). Among them, there is a unique Atharvaveda ms. that generally conforms to the Gujarat tradition that was imported to Benares by Moḍha Brahmins before or about 1550 A.D., some of whom survive there even today (Witzel 1985). It seems that Bhūpatīndra wanted all four Vedas represented in his collection and therefore also had an AV ms. imported and copied, even before he became king. This is:

- **Atharvaveda Padapāṭha** (Śaunaka/Vulgate version) 1, Padapāṭha, labelled *Vedaprapāṭhaka* by the pandits; ms. 1-801, Veda no. 380, NGMPP A-597/31; 35 fols., 25 x 8.2 cm, old, strong paper, one side painted yellow; script Newari, red accent marks. The Newari colophon dates it to the summer of NS 812/1692 A.D., written in Bhaktapur by order of Bhūpatīndra Malla:

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[55] When searching for surviving Veda traditions and mss., one is misled more frequently than not. For example, Vādhūla in Karnataka, as I was informed by Y. Ikari (personal comm. 1999), usually turns out to be just a Gotra name, not a member of the Kerala subschool of the Taittirīyas. Recall also, above, the Vādhūla Brahmin from Coḷadeśa, at Paśupatināth, 1471 A.D. (n. 22).—In 1977 I was once visited, in Kathmandu, by someone from Bombay who was interested in preserving Vedic tradition and who had somehow heard that the Paippalāda school of the Atharvaveda had survived in Nepal. On further inquiry, it turned out that there indeed was a Brahmin rumoured to have a Paippalāda Saṁhitā ms., something that I never had expected to find there. He actually lived quite close to my house in Gairhidhara! His PS "ms." was a facsimile of the Kashmirian ms. kept at Tübingen, edited by Bloomfield and Garbe, and printed at Baltimore in 1901. Another copy of this book is found in the Keśar Library.

samvat 812 vaiśāṣe vadi 7 thva kuhnu śrī 2 bhūpatīndramalla-deva.yā ājñāna śrī hemarājena coyā dina.

Apart from the very fact that an AV manuscript actually exists at this time in Nepal, it is the accentuation of the ms. that is of interest here. As some corrections show, the red accent marks were added after the copyist had written the whole ms. In the present case the accents may have been added by a knowledgeable *vaidika* or just by the copyist, who used a different colour after writing the text in black ink. (It is more common for the accent marks to be added by a *vaidika*, who knows the text and its accents by heart.)

The first verse reads as follows (transcription of the ms. followed by interpretation):

> ye | tr̮i ° saptāḥ | pari ° yaṁti • | viśvā • | rūpāṇi • | bibhra • taḥ |
>
> [yé | tri-saptáḥ | pari-yánti | víśvā | rūpáṇi | bíbhrataḥ |]
>
> vā̲caḥ | patiḥ • | balā • | teṣām • | taṇvạḥ | a̲dya da̮dha̮tu̮ | me̮ |1|
>
> [vācáḥ | pátiḥ | bálā | téṣām | *tanvàḥ | adyá |*dadhātu | me |1|]

The underlying Saṁhitāpāṭha is *: yé triṣaptáḥ pariyánti víśvā rūpáṇi bíbhrataḥ* | *vācás pátir bálā téṣāṁ tanvò adyá dadhātu me* ||1||

As can be readily seen, the basic system underlying the accent marking is the usual, well-known one of the RV and TS: the rising tone (Udātta) is not marked at all, while the preceding low tone (Anudātta) is marked by a dot below the syllable in question. However, differently from the well-known RV system, where the falling tone (Svarita) is marked by a vertical stroke *on top* of the syllable (ka'), it is represented here by a small dot (•) *after* the syllable (ka•) in question. The standard sequence therefore is seen in: rụ̄pāṇi• = rūpáṇi.

In short, this system is a combination of the RV/TS system and another system that is very close to that of the VS described here (*k̲a̲ ka' ka̶*, i.e. the type *rūpā'ṇi̶*, see above). This older system is also used by all earlier Gujarat mss. of the MS (and it is very similar to the one used for the Kaṭha texts in Kashmir as well). However, it needs to be stressed that the MS system (*k̲a̲ kạ' ka̶*) was also used for the AV. The latter was written in that form in Gujarat before the late 17th century, after which a switch to the usual RV/TS/VS type accent system took place.

The transmitters and copyists of the AV belonged to the Abhyantaranāgara Moḍha/Pañcoli Brahmins, who were Caturvedins.[56] It is not surprising, therefore, to see the same system in use for the AV and their own Yajurveda, that of the MS.
The suspicion thus arises that the system used in the AV Padapāṭha ms. described above was imported from Moḍha Brahmins in Benares and was slightly modified by the usual north and west Indian trend (of Poona/Benares) of writing the RV, TS, and VS accents.

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[56] Note that the oldest AV ms. of the Abhyantaranāgara Brahmins that has been preserved is the Berlin AV Pariśiṣṭa of 1431 A.D., from Col. Polier's collection made in northern India in the late 18th century.

Even then, the actual marking of the accents (that is, with dots) and also other peculiarities, such as the splitting of compounds by means of open circles instead of Avagraha, remain quite unusual. In short, this ms. reflects a unique tradition (cf. Witzel 1974 for a survey).

- Another **Atharvaveda Saṁhitā** from Bhūpatīndra's time, with the usual accent marks, is ms. 1-711; not in Grünendahl, Śāstri, Gambier-Parry.
- There also is the occasional ms. such as an "**Atharvaṇavākya**," a private ms. filmed in Patan on November 25, 1976, NGMPP E 128/8 ("*śabdavyākhyānam nirṇayo nāma ekādaśamaḥ siddhāntaḥ*"). For an apparent Paippalāda ms., see below.
- More recent Devanāgarī mss. (see below) include:

Atharvaveda Saṁhitā, Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa, Nakṣatrakalpa, Śāntikalpa, Gāyatrīkalpa, Atharvavidhāna, etc.

§ 5.7. *Sāmaveda Manuscripts*

As has been noted above, the Sāmaveda is represented in Nepal only to a very small degree (see Witzel 1976a: 22). One ms. is mentioned in the list of Bhūpatīndra's library (see above). Another one survives in private possession, with Śrīṣanāth, a Rājopādhyāya Brahmin of Puñcali in Patan. This is a paper ms., 69 fols., 33 x 13 cm, written in recent Nāgarī but still dated in NS, of the **Grāmageya** section of SV (Prapāṭhaka 17). The colophon reads, according to my photocopy:

> *iti grāmegeyagāne saptadaśamaprapāṭhakaḥ* || *o* || ||*samāptaḥ* ||*śubham* || *O* || *sāmavedasaṁkhyā 16 sahasragraṁthagāna 4* || ... *nepālābde cāśva ṣaḍ randhra saṁkhye naṣṭe māse jyeṣṭhakeśuklapakṣe* || *tithyāṁ kāme svātiyukte gurau vaivedaṁ sāmaṁ dvārikanātha likhat* || *O* || *śubhaṁ* ||

Dated NS 967 (*aśva* = 7, *ṣaḍ* = 6, *randhra* = 9), probably May 27, 1847 A.D. However, the text is not found as such in Satyavrata Sāmaśrami's edition. The ms. begins with the mantra SV 2.812a *tat savitur* ... and ends with SV 1.584c *krīḍann ūrmir* ...; however, it is found here in the *ūha* version.

Even the recent Kumai immigrants from the western hills, among whom the Tripāṭhī study the SV to some extent, have brought just a few modern Devanāgarī mss. with them. Otherwise, there are, in particular, an old **Chandogapaddhati** (NGMPP B 37/23) and the Gṛhya ms. 1-1696/568., both mentioned above, that claim adherence to the SV.

Incidentally, the oldest SV ms. known to me is preserved in the Raghunath Temple Library, Jammu (many mss. of which come from the famous Benares collections of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī).[57] It is Jammu ms. 524, "*Sāmaprakāśagrantha,*" with a date corresponding to 1421/2 A.D., and derives from an Abhyantaranāgara Brahmin family of Gujarat (see Witzel 1986a: 58 n. 120, 59 n. 124; 1974: 484; 1982: 223 sqq.) From the same group of Brahmins comes an astronomical ms. preserved in Nepal, the very common **Līlāvatī,** dated Śāka 1718/1796 A.D. (Witzel 1986a: 67 n. 25).

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[57] A 17th-century collection of 2,192 mss., edited by Ananta Krishna Sastry 1921 (for more details see K.V. Sarma 1971: 341); cf. also the 18th- and 19th-century Jaḍe collection of 6,000 mss. listed in Hoshiarpur ms. 5649. It belonged to the *Jaḍe*, Sārasvata Brahmins originating from Goa, but now living in Benares, and is said to have been bought by the Sarasvati Bhavan Library, Benares (Sanskrit University), probably sometime after 1934 A.D.; see Sarma 1971.

This kind of evidence indicates the prominence of the Gujarati Veda tradition. It is well known that some of its Sāmavedins made their way to Tamil Naḍu. Since the Abhyantaranāgara Brahmins were Caturvedins, we find them and the texts of all the four Vedas widely spread in the neighbouring areas, such as Rajasthan, Maharastra and also in Benares (see above), and occasionally some of their mss. turn up in Nepal as well.

A few Sāmaveda Upaniṣads are found on the NGMPP films beginning with A 84: **Kena Up.**, NGMPP A 87/9; **Chāndogya Up.**, NGMPP A 88/2-3, 30-31, 33-34.

§ 6. *Recent Imports*

To give an impression of the recent Veda mss. and of ritual texts of the past 250 years or so, I list, in summary form, the mss. imported from northern India in Shaha times, especially from Benares, and the copies made inside Nepal, in Devanāgarī, from such sources. A number of them come from Kumai Brahmins that immigrated from the more western sections of Nepal. However, at this point in time there is no simple way, except by some typical forms of Nāgarī and the occasional colophon, to distinguish them from Indian imports. My materials are so far unable to identify them.

In addition to the frequent imports from Benares, the National Archives also has quite a number of mss. from Poona or Gujarat,[58] and there are, finally, Taittirīya school imports from the Konkan/N. Karnataka area, probably linked to the Bhaṭṭas of Paśupatināth who came to Nepal after the ousting of the Nambudiri priests[59] by King Jagajjaya Malla, c. 1730 A.D.

The sheer number of such mss., especially those pertaining to ritual, *karmakāṇḍa* (some 2,300 mss. in the National Archives collection),[60] clearly indicates the Sanskritizing tendency of the past few centuries.

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[58] This is not new: note a Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitācārya, *gurjaradeśīya, camatkārapurād āgata* Brahmin in NS 336/1217 A.D. (Regmi 1965: vol.1, 640).

[59] In this connection, some attention should be paid to South Indian palm leaf mss. in the Archives, for example: 1-382 kha, NGMPP B 24/53, **Devīstavamālā** in Telugu script; 1-382 ṅa, B 24/54, a section of the **Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa** in Oriya script; 1-1607 NGMPP B 24/55, (retake NGMPP A 931/8), Vividha 14, a ms. in Grantha script (not in Grünendahl, but cf. the mss. seen by Bendall); ms. 1-382, NGMPP B 23/39, 23/55; Bauddhadarśana 26, script B 22/32, **Tattvajñāna**, in Tamil (!) script. Note also the several mss. in Śāradā, imported from Kashmir, and sometimes apparently even written inside Nepal; see Witzel 1996. One such Śāradā ms., written on birch bark, unfortunately was burnt in the Singha Darbar fire of 1973, just one day before I was to take a close look at it in the office of the Dept. of Archaeology. It is rumoured that six boxes with the most important mss., kept apart from the Archives collection, were burned at that time. Another curiosity: a **Christian** paper ms., in old Newari, going back to the Capuchin missionaries at the court of Jagatpratāpa Malla (NS 855-888/1735-1768 A.D.); I saw it in the Keśar Library in 1976; it contains a painting of Jesus preaching to the twelve apostles, with an old Newari caption ending with "*iti Yeśuvacanaṁ.*"

Since they number in the many hundreds and do not represent the original local traditions, I will merely give a short summary here, and will further describe only some early or otherwise important mss., all sorted according to Śākhā. They are all written on paper and written in Devanāgarī (KK= Karmakāṇḍa section of the National Archives).

6.1. Ṛgveda

Ṛgveda Saṁhitā: some 20 mss., NGMPP A 589/1 sqq. and NGMPP B 4094/4, 503/10 sqq. The oldest ones are A 589/2, dated VS 1779, and B 503/14, Śāke 1693. Of interest, too: a Ṛgveda fragment (8.12.1-13) with MS type accents, pṛṣṭhamātra vowels, A 595/14.

Ṛgveda Padapāṭha: B 495/2-5, 494/6 sq., A 590/14, dated VS 1801 sqq., Vārāṇasi.

Ṛgveda, various **excerpts** including RV Khilāni, approximately 50 mss., the oldest Śāke 1736; also Śrīsūkta-vidhāna B 380/38 sq., A 609/8, and -puraścaraṇavidhi B 380/37; Parjanyasūkta-vidhi B 503/9; RV-Mantra-Saṁhitā A 495/32, B 493/4, A 609/2, 10; Pitranuvāka A 494/9;

Ṛgveda Khilāni: Praiṣādhyāya, Kuntāpādhyāya, Kuntāpa-Śastra, Mahāvrata-Śastra, Vālakhilya-Śastra, Vṛṣākapi-Śastra, Acchāvāka-Śastra, Brāhmaṇacchaṁsi-Bṛhatīsahasra-Śastra A 495/5-8, A 496/10, 19, 20, A 497/16, 17, 20-23, B 492/3.

RV recitation: Aṣṭa-vikṛti A 588/23, Padavibhāga B 495/6, Japa A 452/3, Kramadīpikā (Subodhinī) A 590/12, Jaṭapāṭhadīpikā B 500/27;

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa: B 495/7 (Kāśī VS 1658), 8, 495/10-496/1 (red sentence-dividing markers, hereafter marked by *, VS 1814),[61] 496/2* (VS 1832, 1851-54), 496/3* (Śāke 1670), 4, 5* (Śake 1669), 7*, 8, A 595/8* (old ms.), 595/12, 14, some curious excerpts from AB 1.13.1-8.27 called "Mantrabrāhmaṇa" A 595/29;

Aitareya Āraṇyaka: A 588/28, B 496/9-497/1 (Śāke 1633, mantras with accents), B 497/3 (Śāke 1578), 497/4 (VS 1850, mantras accented), 497/5;

RV Sarvānukramaṇī: B 493/7 (Śāke 1724);

Bṛhad-Ṛgvidhāna: A 437/38 sq. (Śāke 1760), A 590/10-11 (Śāke 1745), A 494/7;

Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra: A 590/3 (VS 1947, mantras accented); A 590/2, 4-6; ĀśvŚS-Prayogapaddhati (by Viṣṇugūḍha): A 458/22, A 437/5;

Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra (with Gadādhara's commentary): B 407/8, 9, 11, 12, A 492/29-33, A 493/2-46 passim (A 493/46 with RV accents), B 513/6; ĀśvGS with Kārikā: A 492/27-28, A 443/36; ĀśvGS-Pariśiṣṭa B 457/6, A 492/34-493/1; Āśv.-Prāyaścitta: A 493/14;

By exception, a ms. of the Kauṣītaki/Śāṅkhāyana school is also found: the **Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra**-Prayogadīpa, KK 1426, 398 fols., A 543/20;

Nighaṇṭu: A 593/36 (VS 1851, Śāke 1999, two mss.), 595/26, 597/28; Nighaṇṭusāra: A 841/22;

Nirukta: A 593/37 (VS 1971), 38; A 954/1 (VS 1823), 2, 4, 5 (Śāke 1806), 6, B 5024-7; Nir. 10 with Anukramaṇī: A 594/3;

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[60] The overlap with more general *karmakāṇḍa* mss. dealing with common Hindu worship makes it difficult to count them exactly. The Veda section also has about 1,000 mss., while other Vedic mss., numbering in the hundreds, are found in the Dharmaśāstra section; occasionally, a Vedic hymn or collection of mantras also turns up in the Stotra section.

[61] This may point to an older tradition, not unlike that of the Kauṣītaki Br. as recited in Kerala where sentence boundaries are marked by a sort of *kampa*.

Ṛk-Prātiśākhya: 5-4396, Veda 36, 38 fols., A 590/9 (VS 1508), A 595/2;

§ 6.2. Sāmaveda

The Sāmaveda Saṁhitā is apparently only represented in small extracts: **Mahānāmnī** (Āraṇyagāna) NGMPP E 172/14; Āyuḥ-sāman, accented, Stotra section 1440, B 393/71; Dvārapālajāpaka- or Mahāvaiśvānara-sāman, accented with numerals, A 609/4, A 596/21; Rudrajapa, accented, B 503/20;

Maśaka Kalpasūtra 1-9: 5-4498, Veda 87, B 497/6;

Kṣudrasūtra 1-3: 5-4493, Veda 1098, B 500/7 (VS 1766), B 500/6 seems to be a copy of B 500/7.

Drāhyāyaṇa-Śrautasūtra & commentary: B 500/17; Drāhy. Karmaprayoga A 449/18 (VS 1738);

Puṣpasūtra 1-10: A 594/28, 29 (with sentence dividers, dated VS 1664, *secunda manu*) A 594/29;

Pratihārasūtra & commentary by Varadarāja: A 594/32 (dated VS 1696), A 595/1; Pratihārakhaṇḍana: KK 84;

Ārṣeyakalpa & commentary A 588/29 (Anukramaṇī on fol. 104), A 495/11, A 491/11;

Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra & commentary (Candrakānta), incl. Gṛhyasaṁgraha, Śrāddhakalpa, Sandhyāsūtra, Snātasūtra, 765 fols., Śāke 1808/VS 1943, B 408/1;

Mahānyāsa A 596/17 (with accents, expressed by numerals).

§ 6.3. Yajurveda : Vājasaneyi School

Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā: A 598/2 (pṛṣṭhamātra vowels), A 600/3 (Śāke 1546), A 597/7 (Śāke 1726), A 602/3 (Śāke 1730, Kathmandu), A 600/2 (Śāke 1765/VS 1900), 602/6 (VS 1912), A 599/10-600/1 (Śāke 1806/VS 1941), A 597/9 (Śāke 1813, VS 1948), A 602/7, A 844/13, 14, E 192/2, 6, 7 (VS 1851, 1877, Śāke 1675);

VS **excerpts** (Rudrādhyāya, VS 16, and others): A 596/11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 26, A 594/16 (NS 946), B 500/5, B 504/20 (1-1697/27/2, Veda 332, text not in Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance), 22, 23, 27, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, A 588/30, A 594/10, 13, 19, 25, A 602/8, A 844/12, B 377/17-18;

VS Padapāṭha: A 499/3 (Śāke 1674), A 596/34 (dated both Śāke 1596 and VS 1733), A 599/1, 2, 5, 6, A 597/12;

VS Kramapāṭha: A 597/8 (VS 1617), A 602/2 (VS 1671); A 598/3 (Śāke 1652, at Gokarṇa; note different numbering of *kaṇḍas* of VS); A 598/1 (Śāke 1656), A 597/11 (Śāke 1698), A 598/6 (VS 1818);

VS Jaṭāpāṭha: A 597/25, A 598/4, A 5998/5;

VS & commentary (Mahīdhara's Vedadīpa) A 597/26, 27;

VS, Kāṇva school, with Sāyaṇa's commentary, ms. 5-4313, Veda 89, fols. 2-166, B 497/8 (damaged by rats);

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 10.5.2 sqq., the so-called Maṇḍala Br., is found in a number of mss.: A 595/18 (Śāke 1950), 20, 21, 23, 25 (Śāke 1792 belonging to one Mehendale, and thus an import from Maharashtra), 27, 28, B 506/4, E 148/26 (a small thyāsaphū written in Devanāgarī); 10, A 588/22, 25, A 595/11, 13 (Śāke 1720), 17. A other sections of ŚB in: A 506/7 (Śāke 1663), so-called "Deva-Br." (ŚB 2.13, 13.2.4 or 14.9.3) etc. in A 507/4, cf. also ms. 1-1340, Dharmaśāstra 392 (with vyākhyā); ŚB with Sāyaṇa's commentary in A 506/8, 9, 596/23; Anukramaṇī, Adhyāyaśatapāṭha, and Adhyāyasūcī, 1-1181, Veda 17, dated VS 1667 and still written with pṛṣṭhamātra vowels, in A 588/19; Brāhmaṇārthaprakāśikā (by Haridatta) 2-112, Veda 241, A 595/15;

Upaniṣad: Īśa & Vyākhyā A 590/7;

Kātyāyana-ŚS: A 495/15, B 498/4-6, B 499/5 (old ms.), 24; an excerpt, the Kāṭhaka-Sāvitra-prayoga, KK 430; "Vedaparibhāṣasūtra" (KŚS 1): E 173/14, 8 fols. Devanāgarī;

Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra and commentary: an old ms. with pṛṣṭhamātra vowels, 390 fols., 5-4099, Veda 102, B 499/7-500/1, A 490/5; KŚS-Vidhāna: A 495/16; Kāty. ŚS and Devayājñika Paddhati: A 440/3-4, 6, A 548/2, A 549/4, B 362/15; B 497/7-498/1 (copy of Weber's edition!, VS 1986); Paribhāṣāṅkasūtrāṇi (by Keśava): A 596/24, 25, A 597, 29, 30;

Kātyāyana Śulbasūtra: A 595/24 (VS 1836), & commentary: A 542/12-14, 602/13-14; one Śulbasūtra, 5-6223, Veda 481, A 602/12 remains unidentified; Śulbapariśiṣṭa: 5-6228, Veda 480, A 602/11 (begins *rajjusamastam vadhyāmaḥ* (sic) and is dated VS 1788); a Vedanirmāṇa-vidhi, KK 1969, A 460/34, 33 fols.;

Kātyāyana Pariśiṣṭa: A 440/11, B 371/5, B 431/15, 437/7, B 450/46 (NS 924, VS 1995), B 498/3, **Pravara**: B 424/6-7; **Hautra**-Pariśiṣṭa & **Kūrmalakṣaṇa**-Par.: A 440/10; **Yajñapārśva**-Par.: A 455/39-40, 42; **Nigama**-Par.: A 550/8, **Pratijñāsūtra** & commentary: A 594/30, 31 (Śāke 1757), A 556/11, A 552/14, Kātyāyana **Śrāddhasūtra** & commentary: A 544/1, A 495/13, B 407/2, 457/18;

Kātyāyana **Sandhyāpaddhati**: A 463/28; **Mūlakhaṇḍahoma**-vidhi: A 440/9, **Snāna-vidhi**: E 128/15 (NS 936);

Śuklayajurveda-**Sarvānukramaṇī:** A 602/9;

Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra: A 515/5-11, commentary: A 449/9, A 515/11-13, A 516/1-2, A 550/16, B 422/2-5, 423/1-3, B 456/3, 4, B 573/10; Reṇukārikā: A 528/10; commentary in Nepali by Homanātha Śāstri: E 75/5 76/5 = E 89/2-4 (retake);

Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya: A 595/3; 595/4, 599/7, (Pārṣadavyākhyā) A 609/6.

A number of Śikṣā texts are worth mentioning (in most cases the **Yājñavalkya-Śikṣā):** B 532/5 (VS 1574), A 596/35, A 597/1, 2 (VS 1769), B 432/3, 4, 6, 7, B 457/3; also, an **Amoghanandin Śikṣā:** 1-1147, Veda 19, A 588/21;

"Gṛhakāṇḍikā" (VS excerpts of 306 mantras: no. 3 = VS 30.1, no. 306 = VS 20.2, etc.), 4-1507, Veda 106, B 500/15, 73 fols., accented.

§ 6.4. Yajurveda: Taittirīya School

Taittirīya Saṁhitā: B 501/6-502/1, 3 (1928 A.D.), 502/2, 503/28, 504/34, excerpts B 504/29, Rudrādhyāya (TS 4.5.1.1 sqq.) B 500/28-501/1, A 588/27, A 596/15;

TS-Padapāṭha: A 592/5, 6; A 593/1, 2, 3, 4; TS-Pp.? ("Ṛksaṁhitā") 5-6032, Veda 64, B 494/5;

TS & commentary (Vedārthaprakāśa): A 593/34;

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa: B 500/19, 501/3, 4, 5 (VS 1982), 50-3/17;

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka: A 593/4, 5 (VS 1942); 593/7, 8, 9, 10, 11 (VS 1909, scribe Nārāyaṇa Ambekar), 12 (Śāke 1801), B 497/2;

Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra: A 595/9, B 368/6-8; Laghunyāsa (TB 3.10.8.4 etc.), B 505/1, 1st leaf in Kannada script (*Śrī dāya? namo namaḥ*), TS style accents of mantras; cf. also KK 937-939, Devanāgarī and Newari script, dated in NS; Nakṣatreṣṭi KK 1075; Kāmyeṣṭisūtra: KK 457; Kāṭhaka-Saṁkṣiptaprayoga: KK 431; Pārthivapūjā: KK 1275; Utsargeṣṭi: KK 284; Dārśapaurṇamāsa-prāyaścitta: A 522/7; BŚS & commentary: A 522/8;

Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra & commentary: A 522/6;

Āpastamba Śrautasūtra: A 491/8; ĀpŚulbaS with commentary A 602/10; ĀpGS (VS 1746, Śāke 1777, partly accented) A 491/5,6; ĀpGS & Gadādhara's commentary: B 407/12;

Hiraṇyakeśi Satyāṣādha Sūtraprayoga: KK 2250, A 464/11, A 447/25; Hir. Hautraprayoga: KK 202; Hir. Vṛṣotsarga (with accents) A 466/43;

Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra : 5-656, B 454/12;

Taittirīya Prātiśākhya: A 595/5;

Yajurvidhāna: A 455/31, A 475/75, A 596/30 ("from Agnipurāṇa, by Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa"); A 596/31-32, A 596/33 ("Yajurvedījapa," with VS accents); Yajurvidhānamañjari: A 596/27; Yajurmañjari: A 596/28-29;

Finally, there is an interesting "Ṛudrī" (ms. 1-1340, Veda 309, B 503/25) which begins: *devā ha vai svargaṁ lokam agamaṁs. te devā rudram apṛcchan: ko bhavān iti...*; it ends: *yo vai rudraḥ, sa bhagavān, yaś ca sūrya[s], tasmai vai namo namaḥ.* This is, however, **Atharvaśiras Up.** 1-2.21.

§ 6.5. Atharvaveda

Atharvaveda Saṁhitā (Śaunaka/Vulgate): ms. 4-204, Veda 7, NGMPP B 492/2, accented in modern AV style, dated Samvat 1942/1885 A.D., copied at Kathmandu, Bhosiko Tol; ms. 4-2118, Veda 6, AV accents, dated VS 1949/1892 A.D., B 492/7-493/1; various excerpts from AV (unaccented unless marked by *): NGMPP A 588/11*, 12, 15, 16, 17*, 18, 20 (incl. RV 1.90), 25, B 503/26, B 504/39; note also a Śaunakamūlavacana: KK 2192;

Vaitāna Sūtra: A 597/18;

Atharveda Pariśiṣṭa: A 588/26; AV-Nakṣatrakalpa: B 358/5; AV-Śāntikalpa: B 358/6; Śaunakīya-Gāyatrīkalpa: B 380/23;

Atharvavidhāna ("from Agnipurāṇa," "by Kāśinātha Bhaṭṭa"; includes **Yajurvidhāna**, see § 4.3, § 6.4.): A 596/30.

Śaunakīyasaṁgraha: Stotra coll. no. 1592; Atharvavedīya-viniyoga (a part of Viniyogamālā): A 588/13, B 402/15; Śaunakamūlavacana: KK section no. 2192; a part of Adbhūtasāgara, from the **Paippalāda** school: KK no.179;

Atharvaṇarahasya (Lakṣmīstotra): Stotra coll. 969 ka; Atharvaṇarahasya (Nṛsiṁhavajrastotra): E 148/40; Mahātharvaṇasaṁhitā (from Hāhāravatantra, Ṣaṭtriṁśatisahasra): E 44/25;

Kauśika GS, Madhuparkaprayoga: KK 2112;

Caraṇavyūha (and **Nakṣatrakalpaśrāddhavidhi**, fols. 80 sqq.): A 490/2, A 609/7, B 500/18, 21, 26;

Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa 1-2: 4-207, Veda 8, A 588/10;

AV Upaniṣads: **Atharvaśīrṣa Up.** (includes Sūtra and Devī Up.): A 588/14; **Praśna Up.**: A 844/1, 7, A 860/1; Praśna Up. Ṭīkā: B 658/9; other Upaniṣads include: **Kaivalya** & Dīpikā: B 699/11; **Maitrāvaruṇīya:** A 443/26.

§ 6.6. Smṛti

As expected, the basic Dharmaśāstra and Smṛti texts are well represented, with more than one hundred mss., all classified in the Dharmaśāstra section, and filmed on NGMPP reels A 493, 507, 513, 522, 524, 536, 542, 549, 550, B 421, 429, 433-7, 440, 455, 457. **Manu** and **Yājñavalkya** (with Mītākṣarā) and **Pārāśara** (one dated VS 1599, B 421/7) are the most common ones. Other Smṛtis include: **Aṅgirasa, Ātreya, Āpastamba** DhS (A 491/4, VS 1666), **Āśvalayana, Kāśyapa, Cyavana** (KK 304), **Dakṣa, Nārada, Bṛhaspati** (B 457/10, A 522/4 in Maithili script), **Manu** Smṛti with a Nepali commentary (A 523/7, 524/10, A 525/2), **Yama**; one ms. of the **Yājñavalkya** Smṛti is copied from a ms. in late Gupta script (see above § 3.2, B 432/19); **Raghunanda** (in Maithili script, 1-1697/24/1, Dharmaśāstra no. 824, A 528/1); **Vāsiṣṭha** (2-68, A 529/10, and dated Śāke 1956, B 457/19); **Viṣṇu, Vyāsa, Saṁvarta, Śaṅkha, Śaṅkhalikhita, Śātātapa, Śivadharmaśāstra** (KK 1425), **Smṛtisaṁgraha** (A 491/9, 516/3, B 453/1-3, A 545/2, B 457/2), **Smṛtivākyānām Smṛti** (1-1697/32/8, B 452/14); **Hārita** (B 454/8-11).

The **Mahārṇava**(-Abhidāna/Prabandha) is well represented: A 494/10 etc., B 406/17-407/1, 4, 14, 15, B 429/4, 5, 456/2; and so is the **Vīramitrodaya**: B 440/5 (VS 1667), 440/2, 6-44, 441/2.

More or less the same distribution of Veda schools as found in recent paper mss. written in Nāgarī is seen in the many hundreds of handbooks dealing with Śrauta and Gṛhya rituals. Again, for brevity's sake, I can only give a list of titles here; the Śākhā is added when indicated in the mss.; however *all* such handbooks should be studied in order to determine the Vedic school (Śākhā) they belong to, something that can be accomplished by checking out a number of typical mantras (this is something which we did not have time for when filming these texts).

§ 6.7. Śrauta Manuscripts

Śrauta-paddhati, -vidhi, -prayoga, -kārikā, etc. :

Agniṣṭoma: Āśv./Āp. Adhvarādi-pr., Kāty. Agniṣṭoma-pr., SV Jyotiṣṭoma-pa. (incl. Cayana-pa.), Kāty. Somabhakṣaprakāra; Soma-Sāma-pr.;

Agnihotra: Āp. Agnihotrahoma, Āśv. Sāyamprātar-Agnihotrahoma, Baudh. Agnihotraprāyaścitta; Āgnīdhra-pr.: Hir. Ā.; Āgrayaṇa: Hir. Āgrayaṇahautra-pr.;

Ādhāna: Āśv. Ādhānaprakaraṇa, Āp. Ādhāna-pr., Baudh. Ādhāna-vidhi, Atharvāṇa-Agnisthāpana-vidhi; Atharvavedasyāgnesthāpana (Ath. Pākatantra); Agnisthāpana: Kauśika Agnisthāpana, Sāmagānām Agnisthāpana, Sāmāgnisthāpana-vidhi;

Iṣṭi: Kāmyeṣṭi: Baudh. Kāmyeṣṭi-sūtra; Kārīrī: Baudh. Kārīrī-pr.;

Cayana: Kāty. Cayana-pr.-paddhati, Kāṭhakāgner Baudh. Saṁkṣipta-pr., Baudh. Āruṇaketuka-pr., Baudh. Sapaśu-Nāciketa-Caturmāsaikākika-pr.;

Cāturmāsya: Āśv. Cāturmāsya-pr., Śāṅkh. Cāturmāsya-pr.;

Cāturhotra: Baudh. Cāturhotrī-pr.

Dārśapaurṇamāsa: Āśv. Dārśapaurṇamāsa-sthālipāka, Āśv. Dārś. Hautra-pr., Bahvṛca-pr., Ṛghautra-pr., Kāty. Dārś.-pr., Kāty. Dārś.-pr., Baudh. Āgnīdhra-Dārś.-pr., Bahvṛca-Dārś. Prayogaratna, Hir. Dārś.-pr.;

Paśubandha: Āśv. Nirūḍhapaśu-Hautra, Baudh. (Nirūḍha-)Paśubandha-pr.;

Pitṛmedha: Bhār. Paitṛmedha-pr.; Brahmatva: Āp. Brahmatva-pr.; Sautrāmaṇī: Baudh. Carakasautrāmaṇī-pr., Āp. Kaukilīsautrāmaṇī-pr., Baudh. Kaukilīsautrāmaṇī-pr.[62]

§ 6.8. *Gṛhya Manuscripts*

Gṛhya-paddhati, -vidhi, -prayoga, -kārikā, etc.:

General: Daśakarma-paddhati (1-1696/2/25), Vāj. Daśakarma, Vāj. Gṛhya-pa., Kāty. Gṛhya-pa., Karmakāṇḍa-pa.; **Antyeṣṭi**: SV Antyeṣṭi-pa., Hir. Antyeṣṭi-Hautra-pr., Āśv. Āhitāgni-Maraṇadāhavidhi; **Āhnika**: RV-Āhnika;

Upanayana: AV-Upanayana-vidhi, AV (Śaunaka) Aśvasthopanayana (KK 178), Chandogā-Upanayana-pa., Vāj. Upanayana-pr.; Ṛṣipūjana: Vāj. Ṛṣipūjana; **Kuśaṇḍī:** Gobh. Kuśaṇḍikā, Vāj. Kuśaṇḍīkarma, Kāṭy. Kuśaṇḍīkarma;

Gāyatrī: Śaun. Gāyatrī-kalpa; **Chandoga**-vidhi; Śaun. Daśaputrapratigrahaṇa-vidhāna; **Navagraha**: Śaun. Navagrahajapa-vidhi; **Nyāsa**: Taitt. Laghunyāsa, Baudh. Mahānyāsa; Mahānyāsa (Taitt. Āraṇyaka (A) 10.16, 5-7228, Veda 273 ka, A 609/9);

Pitṛmedha: Bhār. Paitṛmedhika-pr.; **Puṇyāha**: RV Puṇyāhavacana, Vāj. Puṇyāhavacana-pr., Śaun. Puṇyāhavacana-pr.; **Pūjā**: Kāty. Pūjā-pa., Baudh. Pārthivapūja;

Madhuparka: Āśv. Madhuparka, Kauś. Madhuparka-pr., Yajurvedināṁ (& Chandogānāṁ) Madhuparka-vidhi; **Mṛtyuñjaya**: Baudh. Mṛtyuñjayahoma-pa.; **Liṅgapratiṣṭhā**: Baudh. Liṅgapratiṣṭhāsthāpana-vidhi, Baudh. Liṅgārcapratiṣṭhā-vidhi (dated Samvat 83, 5-1849, KK 1805, A 457/49); **Rudra**: Baudh. Rudrapaddhati, Baudh. Rudra-vidhāna;

Vivāha: Kāty. Vivāha-vidhi, Vāj. Vivāhādi-pr.,-pa.; Mādhy.-śākhā Vāj.-caraṇa Kanyādāna, Chandogānāṁ Vivāha-pa. (dated [sic] Śāke 1819, VS 1958, NS 1018, A 467/4);

Vṛṣotsarga: Āp., Āśv., Baudh., Hir. Vṛṣotsarga, Āśv.. Śaunakokta-(Āśv.) Kāmyavṛṣotsarga-pa.; **Vrata**: SV Vratapratiṣṭhā;

Śānti: SV Śāntikādhyāya (Āyuḥsāman), RV Śānti, Ātharvaṇa-Sarvaśānti-Saṅgraha, Baudh. Ṛtu-Ś.-pr., Baudh. Udaka-Ś., Śaun. Jvara-Ś., Kāty. Yamalajanama-Śāntyabhiṣekamantra, Baudh. Vinayaka-Ś., Āśv. Vāra-Ś.;

Śrāddha: Kāty. Śrāddha-bhāṣya, Hir. Śrāddha-pr., Hir. Śrāddhasaṁkalpa, SV Śrāddha-pr. (-ratna, -vidhi, -viveka, -saṁkalpa), Śrāddhasaṁkalpa (with pṛṣṭhamātra vowels, TS type accents, quotes Taitt. Āraṇyaka 10, A 544/2), SV Ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha-vidhi; Sapiṇḍī: Āp. Sapiṇḍī-vidhi, (Vāj.?) Sapiṇḍīkaraṇaśrāddha-Kulapiṇḍārcana-vidhi, Sapiṇḍaśrāddha-vidhi; Parvaṇa: SV (Aṣṭa-)Daivatyaparvaṇaśrāddha-vidhi, Mātṛka: Āśv. Mātṛkaśrāddha;

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[62] Recent paper mss. that do not indicate association with a particular school include the same types of subjects listed above; **Śrauta mss.** without clear school specification are:

Agniṣṭoma: Somasaptahautra-pr., Somaprāyaścitta, Somotpatti, Jyotiṣṭoma Yajamāna, Somayāga Acchāvāka-pr., Agniṣṭomīya-pr., Jyotiṣṭoma-pr. (Audgātra, Hautra), -vidhi, Grāvastotṛ-pr., Brāhmaṇacchaṁsi-pr., Maitrāvaruṇa-pr., Hautra, Potṛtva, Udgātṛ-pr., Somasāma-pr.;

Agnihotra: Agnihotra-saṁkalpa, Sāyamagnihotra, Sāyamprātar-homa(-pa.); **Anvārambhaṇīya**sthālipāka, **Amāvāsyasaṁkalpa**-vidhi; **Ādhāna** & Audgātra-pr., **Ādhāna** Hautra-pr., **Āptoryāma** (sarvapṛṣṭha)ukthya-pr., **Dārśapaurṇamāsa** (padārtha);

Kāṭhakacayana: Savitracayana-pr., Nāciketa-pr.; **Caturmāsya**-pa., -vihāra, -hautra-pr., -agnīdhra-pr., aikāhikacāturmāsya-pr.; **Divaḥśyeneṣṭi**-Hautra; **Nakṣatrasattra**-pr.; **Paśubandha**: Maitrāvaruṇa-pr.; **Potṛtva**-pr., **Punarādheya**; **Prāyaścitta**: Śrautāgniyāga-prāyaścitta; **Mṛgāreṣṭi**-pr., -hautra; **Yajña**vidhi-pa., Yajña-kuṇḍalalakṣana, Yajñamaṇḍapanirvāṇa-vidhi;

Vājapeyi-Brāhmaṇācchaṁsi-pr. (incl. Sāmans), Vajapeyi-pr., -Acchāvāka-pr., -Maitrāvaruṇa-pr., -Hautra-pr., Vājapeyāṅga-Bṛhaspatisava-Acchāvāka-pr., **Śrauta**-pa., **Śyeneṣṭi**-hautra; **Sautrāmaṇī**: Carakasautrāmaṇī-Yājyānuvākya & Praiṣa-pr.; **Hautra**medha-vidhāna; hautra-pr.

Ṣaṣṭhivarṣa: Śaunakokta-/Śaunakīya-Ṣaṣṭhivarṣapūrty-Ugraratha-Śānti, Ṣaṣṭhivarṣapūrti-Śānti-Saṁkṣipta-pr. = Bhīmaratha, New. 'Jaṁko'; **Saṁvatsara**: Naipālavarṣakriyā(-Saṁgraha, -Mata);

Sandhyā: RV Sandhyā-pr., -karma, -karmavidhi; **Snāna**: Kāty. Snāna-vidhi(-vivaraṇa);

Homa: AV-Homamantra-pr., AV-havana-vidhi, AV-Homasūkta & pr., Sāmahoma, Yajurvedīyahoma, SV-Puṇyāhavacana.[63]

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[63] **Gṛhya mss.** without clear school specification: **Agni**: Agnipraṇayana, Agni-vidhāna (Tāntrika-), Agnikuṇḍa-pādasthāpana/nirmāṇa-vidhi/-lakṣaṇa, Gṛhāgnipunaḥsandhānahoma-vidhi; Abhiṣeka; Aupāsanāgni-punarutpādana, Aupāsanāgni-sāyamprātarhoma; **Annaprāśana**-pr.;

Antyakriyā (also: Uttarakriyā)(-pa., -vidhi), Antyeṣṭi: Antya-pa., Antyavidhi-Ślokasaṁgraha, Pretamañjari-Antya-pa., Antyeṣṭi-pr., Antyeṣṭi-pa. (Prayogaratna: Aurdhvadehika-pa.), Antyeṣṭi-prajñāsāpiṇḍya-vidhi, Āhitāgner Antyeṣṭi, Āhitāgneḥ Pretādhāna, Āhitāgner Maraṇavidhāna, Āhitāgner Maraṇadāhavidhi, Araṇīsamāhitāgner Dāhavidhi, Smārtāntyeṣṭikarmaprayoga; Asthyuddharaṇavidhi, Asthisañcayana(śrāddha)vidhi;

Ahorātrayajña-vidhi; **Āśīrvāda**-Mantra (VS 22.22); Ācāra-pa., **Upanayana**: -pa., -vratabandha, Upanayana & Samāvartana-vidhi (A 467/24), Yajñopavīta-vidhāna, -saṁskāra, bhāṣya; **Āpośāna**-vidhi; **Āhnika**: Āhnika-pa.; Utsarjanopakārakarma-prayoga; **Upākarma**: Upākarma-vidhi (Prayogaratna), Upākarmasāra-vidhi, Vedārambha-vidhi; Ekāgnividhi-mahādanavidhāna;

Karmakāṇḍa: -nibandha, -pustaka, -vidhi (Kārtikavrata NS 802), **Kūṣmāṇḍa**: Kūṣmāṇḍamantra, Kūṣmāṇḍadāna-vidhi, Kūṣmāṇḍīkarma, Kūṣmāṇḍahoma-pr., Kūṣmāṇḍahavana-pa.; **Kṣatriya**sandhyā, Kṣatriyapradakṣiṇa-pa., Kṣatriyagāyatrī-vidhi; **Garbhādhāna**: Garbhādhāna-baliśāstra, -saṁskāra, Garbhiṇīmaraṇavidhi, Garbhādhānādi-Daśasaṁskāra; **Godāna**: Śatagodāna-pr.; **Cūḍākarana**: Cūḍākaraṇa-vidhi, C. (Prayogaratna); Garbhādhāna-Cūḍākarana-vidhi; **Gāyatrī**: -dīpikā, -japa-vidhi, -nyāsa, -pa., -puraścaraṇa (prayoga, -vidhi), -pūjā-pa., -bhāṣya, -mudrā, -sarvasva, -hṛdaya, Gāyatryardhanapradāna, Gāyatrāvarṇānām Ṛṣicchanda ādi Nirūpaṇa (diagram, B 513/4);

Gṛha: -nirmāṇa-vidhi, -pratiṣṭhā (-hūrchana, -ādiyajñavidhi, -paddhati, -pūrvakapraveśaparicheda, balyarcana-vidhi, -yajñavidhi, -vāstupūjā-paddhati, -vidhi, -śāntibalyarcana-vidhi, -homa-vidhi), Gṛhapraveśana(śāntibalyaracana-vidhi, -siddhāgniśiromaṁsāhutiyajña), Gṛhapraveśa(-pūjā-vidhi, -bali-vidhi, vāstu, -vāstuśānti, -vāstuśāntipūrvakagṛhapraveśa, -śānti), Gṛhavāstu (-pūjā-vidhi, -vāstu-vidhi), Navagṛhapraveśa;

Gotrapravarādhyāya, Gotraþravaranirṇaya, Gotrapravaraprakaraṇa; **Graha**: -kheṭamāla, -tilaka, pīṭhakuṇḍī, -pūjā (Gṛhyakarma-pa.), -prakāśikābṛhadvasiṣṭhā, -balipūjā, -makhapaṅgana-pr. (B 366/33), -yajña, śānti, -homa-vidhi, Grahārcana(-vidhi); **Jātakarma**: Jātakarma-pr., -vidhi (Prayogaratna), Saṁkṣepa-Jātakarma; **Tarpaṇa**: Kāty. Tarpaṇa-vidhi, Vāj. Ṛṣitarpaṇa-vidhi, Ṛṣipūjana, Brahmāditarpaṇamantra, Svādhyāyāditarpaṇavidhi, Tarpaṇapiṇḍadāna-vidhi, Tarpaṇa-vidhi (& Śrāddha-vidhi), Samkṣepatarpaṇa-vidhi (pr.; incl. dates NS 800-92);

Daśakarma: Daśakarma-pa., -vidhi, Daśakriyā(-vidhi), Daśakriyādi-pa., Jātakādivivāhānta-vidhi; **Dāna**: Dadhidhenaudāna, Hiraṇyādi-dāna-vidhi; **Devālaya**gṛhanirmāṇa-vidhi, Devaprasādanirmāṇa-vidhi; **Nāmakaraṇa**(-prayoga, -vidhi), Namastesvāhākāra-pr., **Nityakarma**-pr., -pr.-vidhi; Nityācāra-vidhi, Nitya-pa., Nityapūjā, Nityārcana-vidhi; **Nyāsa**: Mantrādinyāsajapagāyatrī-vidhi; **Pañcagavya**-vidhi; **Pavitra**-vidhi, pramāṇa(-homa-pa.), -śodhana-vidhi, Pavitrārohaṇa-vidhi, Pavitreṣṭihoma; **Pārāyaṇa**: Vedapārāyaṇa-vidhi;

Pitṛ-kalpa, -kārikā, -tarpaṇādi 'Nānāviṣaya', -bhaktitaraṅgiṇī, -medha-vidhi, Paitṛmedhika(-karma, -saraṇī (Loṣṭaciti), -vārapradāna, -ṣoḍaśī; **Pūrṇimā**vratapratiṣṭhā; Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇa(4-331, Dharmaśāstra 605, 34 fols., with eight pictures each of various (in some cases Tantric) deities, bearing their names);

Pravara: Gotrapravarādhyāya (B 407/16), Gotrapravaranirṇaya (of Bhaṭṭoji Bhaṭṭa, B 407/15; of Viśvanāthadeva, B 407/13), Gotrapravaraprakaraṇa; Kṛtyamañjari: Pravaranirṇaya (Dharmaśāstra ms. 191); **Prātar-**: (cf. Sandhyā) Prātarnityakarma-vidhi, Prātaḥkṛtyādi-vidhi, (Saṁkṣipta-/Vaidika-)Prātaḥkṛtya(-sandhyā-pa., -pr., -vidhi, -nyāsa-vidhi, nityapūjā), Prātaḥsnāna-vidhi, Pradoṣapārthivapūjā; **Prāyaścitta**: Prāyaścitta-pr., -vidhi (Madanaratnapradīpa); Malimlucatattva, Samudrayāmapūrvaka-dvīpāntaragamana-prāyaścitta (B 451/4);

§ 6.9. Other Ritual Handbooks

I neglect, in this survey, the common daily, seasonal and yearly rituals of Hinduism. Several thousands of them have been imported or copied inside Nepal from such sources. Those pertaining to ritual in general, *karmakāṇḍa,* number some 2,300 mss., while the numbers for Tāntrika Karmakāṇḍa and Dharmaśāstra mss., whose division from and overlap with the Dharma (Veda) section of the National Archives is not clearly maintained, amount to similar counts. Their high number, again, clearly indicates the Sanskritizing tendency of the past few centuries. One such copy, that of the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra and Devayājñika's commentary (4-211, Veda 90, B 497/7-498/1, dated Samvat 1986/1929 A.D.), has even been copied from A. Weber's printed edition (it includes his annotations!).

In addition to the frequent imports from Benares, the National Archives also has quite a number of mss. from Maharashtra or Gujarat and there are, finally, Taittirīya school imports from Konkan and southern India, probably linked to the Bhaṭṭas of Paśupatināth who came to Nepal after the ousting of the Nambudiri priests by King Jagajjaya Malla, in c. 1730 A.D.

Pretapiṇḍa-vidhi; Pretamañjarī, Pretāvayavapiṇḍadāna-vidhi; **Bali**: Cittrapattrāṇi (for *bali* offerings, A 445/56); **Brahmayajña**-vidhāna; **Brāhmaṇa**sarvasva; **Maṇḍapa**: -pūjana-vidhi; **Matsyamaṁsa-**bhakṣ[y]ābhakṣ[y]a-vidhāna (A 523/4); **Mantra**-vidhi (-mahodadhi, -saṁgraha); Mantrabījakoṣa (1-1528, Tantra 707);

Rudra: -kalpadruma (abhiṣeka-pa. by Dvivedī Antadeva), -vidhāna(-nyāsa), -vidhānapariśiṣṭa, -śānti, -homa (from Skandapurāṇa), Śivāṣṭottaranāma, Tvaritarudra(-japavidhi, -pr., -mantra); **Liṅgārcana**: -candikā; **Loṣṭaciti**-pa.; **Yavodaka**-vidhi; **Vaiśvadeva**-pa.; **Varṣa** (cf. Saṁvatsara): Varṣakriyākaumudī; **Vāstu**: -cakra (one big fol., 1-1630, A 458/19), -pa., -pūjā(-vidhi), -pūjanaprakāra, -yantra, -vidhāna, -vidhi;

Vivāha: -karma-vidhi, -kṛtya, -gotroddharaṇa, -pa., -pr., -varaṇī, vasodhāra, -vidhi: Arkavivāha: -pa., -pr.; Kanyādāna-vidhi, -parīkṣaṇa; Suvarṇakumāravivāha: -parvaṇa, -vidhi; Śāntipūrvakaṁgṛhapraveśa-vidhi; Saṁskāra: -tattva, -tattva-pr., -bhāskara; **Vṛṣotsarga**: -pr.; **Vaidikamantra**:-kalpanirṇaya, -pūjāsaṁgraha, -pr., -vidhi; **Vaiśvadeva**-(pa.-vidhi);

Śānti: Agni-śānti, Agnidagdhagṛha-śānti, Udaka-śānti, Kapota-śānti, Kuhūsinīvālīmantra-śānti-pr., (Saṁkṣepa-)Gṛha-śānti-vidhi, Graha-śāntisūtra, Daśa-śānti, Nakṣatra-śānti, Vinayaka-śānti, Śāntiratna, Śāntihomakrama;

Śrāddha: -karma-pa., -vidhi, -saṁkalpa-tantrakrama; Aṣṭakaśrāddha-vidhi, -pr., Abhyudayika-(vṛddhi-śrāddha-vidhi, -śrāddha-vidhi, -pa.), (Haima-)Ekoddiṣṭa-śrāddha-vidhi; Aurdhvadehika-pa., -pr., Kaulika-śrāddha (Tantric B 518-18), (Saṁkṣipta-)Gayā-śrāddha(-pa, -pr., -vidhi; Gayaprakāśa), Ṭodarānanda-śrāddha-vidhi, Tīrtha-śrāddha-(pr., -vidhi), Tripiṇḍī-śrāddha-pa., Dārśa-śrāddha(-pa., -pr., -vidhi), Durgā-śrāddha-vidhi, Navakuṇḍika-śrāddhasūtra, Nityaśrāddha(-pr., -vidhi & Pitṛstava); Pārvaṇa: Ekaparvaṇa-śrāddha-vidhi, Pārvaṇaśrāddha(-kalanirṇaya, -śrāddhatattva, -śrāddha-pitṛkalpa, -śrāddha-pr., -śrāddha-vidhi), Pāka-śrāddha-vidhi, Piṇḍapitṛyajña-pr. (Hemādri's Śrāddhakāṇḍa), Puṇyāhavacanādi-śrāddha-pr., (Saṁkṣipta-)Māsika-śrāddha-vidhi, Mahālaya-śrāddha-pr., Yugādi-pr., Vṛddha-śrāddha, Vaiśākha-śrāddha, Vaiṣṇava-śrāddha-pr., -vidhi; Ṣoḍaśa-śrāddha(-vidhi), Ṣoḍaśīpiṇḍadāna-vidhi, Saṁskāratattva(-pr.) (ms. KK 2400, B 382/63, in Kannada script!), Saṁskārabhāskara, Saṁnyāsa-śrāddha(-vidhi), Sāṁvatsarika-śrāddha(-pa.), Sapiṇḍī (-karaṇa, -bhāṣya), Hasta(-parvaṇa-śrāddha-pa, -śrāddha);

Sandhyā: -gāyatrīnityavidhi, -prayoga, -vandanā(-pr., -vidhi), Trikālasandhyā, Turīyasandhyā-vidhi, (Tāntrikasandhyā & Maṇḍala, A 621/25), Madhyāhnasandhyā-vidhi (cf. Prātaḥ-), Saṁnyāsināṁ Sandhyā, Sandhyā-snāna-mantra & vyākhyā; **Śrāvaṇa**karnādi-pākasaṁsthā-pr., Śrāvaṇīhoma; **Sthālīpāka**(-karma, -pr.), Dvādaśapaurṇamāsa-sthālīpāka-pr., Pakṣādi-sthālīpāka-pr. (Punarādhāna-pr.), Pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka-(pr.; Prayogaratna), **Ṣaṣṭhīyāga**-vidhi; **Snāna**: Snānatarpana-vidhi, Vaidikasnāna-vidhi; **Homa**: -pa., -pūjā, -pūjā-vidhi, -vidhi; (Tantrikahoma-vidhi), Āhuta-vidhi, Lakṣahoma (Yajñapratiṣṭhā), Lakṣyāhutayajña-vidhi,

§ 7. *Conclusions*

Summing up, we can discern, right from the beginning of historical records in Nepal, a consistent, though checkered history of Vedic tradition. It begins with the import of

- Veda reciters (*bhaṭṭa*) of various schools, including the Taittirīya of the Black Yajurveda in arly Licchavi times, though later on, and until today, only the Vājasaneyi school of the White Yajurveda in their Mādhyandina subschool has been attested (exceptionally the Kāṇva subschool is also attested).
- Vedic texts, too, are mentioned from Licchavi times onwards, especially the Smṛtis, the oldest surviving mss. of Dharma compendia dating from 1040 A.D., and of the Manu Smṛti, from 1162 A.D.

Closer to the core of the Veda, there are mss. of handbooks of Vedic study (1061 A.D. +), and Gṛhya rituals (1114 A.D. +), including an early text of the Kāṇva subschool which has not been found later on in Nepal.

Actual Vedic Saṁhitās are attested from Malla times: the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā of the Yajurveda from 1401 A.D. (and probably even from c. 1250 A.D.); the Ṛgveda from early Malla times (1324 A.D.+); but the Atharvaveda, only in the late Malla period (1692 A.D.), along with some traces of Sāmaveda texts.

Around 1300 A.D., there is a marked influx of Vedic mss. from Mithilā. In the later Malla period many texts relating to Vedic Śrauta and Gṛhya rituals were copied, especially in Bhaktapur. Many such handbooks have been imported from Benares and elsewhere during the past two and a half centuries.

- Vedic rituals appear from Licchavi times onwards, especially the royal rites (*abhiṣeka*) and various para-Vedic *homa*s. Strictly Vedic rituals, such as the Agnihotra, are found mentioned since c. 1140 A.D., and texts of the Dārśapaurṇamāsa and other Iṣṭis appear from at least 1434 A.D. on; these rituals have been continuously performed until today. Importantly, the Agnihotra of the Newar Brahmins has undergone strong Tantricizing influence (1434 A.D.). Under the Shaha dynasty, strictly Vedic rituals have been carried out daily (Agnihotra) and periodically, in part with royal sponsorship.
- Vedic recitation is implied in Licchavi times by the presence of the names of Veda reciters (*bhaṭṭa*), is again suggested by mss. from c. 1100 A.D. onwards, and is also indirectly attested in inscriptions of the Malla period. Direct attestation comes from the Malla period, when some older types of recitation, preceding the common Indian styles of today, are found in Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā mss. from 1401 A.D. onwards (and also in one ms. that probably is one or two centuries older). These mss. indicate the Udātta as the highest tone, something that seems to be continued in modern Rājopādhyāya recitation but is otherwise only found sporadically in Kerala. Only the recitation of Vājasaneyi texts and of some Sāmaveda continues until today.

In sum, Nepal has preserved not only the oldest Vedic mss. available anywhere, but also older forms of Vedic recitation, something that contrasts markedly with H. P. Śāstri's initial impression which has shaped our expectations for nearly a hundred years. Like Hodgson's early assessment of the instant demise of Nepalese Buddhism, such impressions have been premature.

Even this brief survey, therefore, indicates that the National Archives, the Keśar Library and some private Rājopādhyāya collections contain a wealth of Vedic mss. that shed considerable light on the Vedic tradition of medieval Nepal and of neighbouring northern India. It also is clear that a more thorough investigation of some of the (para-)Vedic mss. listed above will yield more, and I suspect, some surprising insights. Yet: *anantam śāstram, alpam jīvitam.*
Just as in so many other fields of Sanskrit and South Asian Studies, Nepal has preserved important facets of South Asia's ancient Vedic heritage that are not available anywhere else.

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One would wish that the country's living Vedic traditions of recitation and rituals, not just those in manuscripts, could be protected[64] as an important part of Hindu *dharma*, especially now that the various waves of Bollywood Indianization, Westernization and more recently globalization, are sweeping over the country with increasing force. The (re-)introduction of Vedic recitation has been attempted successfully several times even within the past century—for example, for the Sāmaveda at the court of Darbhanga in Bihar as recently as the 1930's, or even later on for the Atharvaveda in the temples and pāṭhaśālās of South India. The only remaining Hindu kingdom should do more for the preservation of this ancient tradition.

There is, to be sure, the Veda-Vedāṅga Vidyālaya just south of the Paśupatināth temple and a Veda school in Jhapa ("Rising Nepal," July 22, 1976). One has also noticed, since c. 1977, a certain stress on Sanskrit education, reflected in its being tuition-free (the old Sanskrit Pākaśālā opposite Trichandra College has always provided free room and board for Sanskrit students). One may also point to the more recent start of Karmakāṇḍa courses at university level (1986), and the actual founding of the Sanskrit University at Dang, originally planned by King Mahendra. The lamented King Birendra took an active interest in its functioning as its Chancellor.

Still, one wishes that Vedic recitation, under strong pressure everywhere in the subcontinent, would be reintroduced in Nepal for all four Vedas, and in many of their Śākhās, and that indigenous ritual traditions such as that of the fledgling Agnihotra at Patan, which almost came to a stop in 1980, will be ensured of survival before they disappear forever.

Abbreviations

AV	Atharvaveda (Saṁhitā)
Āśv.	Āśvalāyana
Āp.	Āpastamba
BĀU	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad
Baudh.	Baudhāyana
Bhār.	Bhāradvāja
DhS	Dharmasūtra

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[64] See my appeal of a quarter century ago, in Vasudha 1976, which was accompanied by some pertinent proposals, such as the creation of "living national treasures," as practised in Japan. This has not really been followed up in Nepal but would still be very timely.

GS	Gṛhyasūtra
Hir.	Hiraṇyakeśi
Kāty.	Kātyāyana
Kauś	Kauśika
KŚS	Kātyāyana Śrautrasūtra
KK	karmakāṇḍa
KS	Kātha Saṁhitā
Mādhy.	Mādhyandina
MS	Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā
pa.	paddhati
PGS	Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra
pr.	prayoga
PS	Paippalāda Saṁhitā
RV	Ṛgveda (Saṁhitā)
RVKh	Ṛgveda Khila
Śāṅkh.	Śāṅkhāyana
Śaun.	Śaunaka
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
ŚS	Śrautasūtra
SV	Sāmaveda Saṁhitā
Taitt.	Taittirīya
TĀ	Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
TS	Taittirīya Saṁhitā
Vāj.	Vājasaneyi
VS	Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā
YV	Yajurveda

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Jean-Luc Achard: *L'Essence Perlée du Secret: Recherches philologiques et historiques sur l'origine de la Grande Perfection dans la tradition rNying ma pa*. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses 107. Tournhout (Belgium): Brepols Publishers, 1999. viii+333 pp. ISBN 2-503-50964-9

Tibetology during the last three or four decades has tended to present the religions of Tibet through the eyes of the Gelugpa school, probably for the simple reason that His Holiness the Dalai Lama and most of his geshes from Dharamsala were the ones who encouraged Western scholarly research on Tibet, usually assigning each visiting researcher a Tibetan monk-scholar full-time—a situation you can only dream of when you try to work with representatives of other Tibetan schools. This made for a good start, and by the end of the 1970s we had good English translations and studies on nearly every topic of Tibetan Buddhism. The disadvantage was, however, that certain traditions, including the Jonang, Kagyu and Nyingma schools, were described from a Gelug point of view as being, for example, substantialist (Jonangpas) or containing elements of Hvashang Buddhism. Likewise, Tibetology usually followed Buddhist schools in criticizing Bonpos for plagiarism. By now, Tibetan studies have entered a new phase of research, with a number of scholars having started to study the different Tibetan religions from within the respective traditions, using the latter's own texts and hermeneutics. Achard's study is one such work: not only does he seek to understand and present *rdzogs-chen* from within the tradition of the Nyingmapas, but also to shed some new light on the origin and early transmission of the *Secret Seminal Heart Drop* (Tib. *gSang ba snying thig*, which Achard translates into French as *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*). He tries to show that the so-called "Section of Precepts" (*man ngag sde*) is much older than thought by Western research. Moreover, he convincingly suggests that the Nyingma tradition has considerably borrowed from the Bonpos and that some visionary techniques of both, Bon and Nyingma, were probably influenced by the Trika system of Kashmir Śaivism.

Following a foreword (*avant-propos*) to the study, by Anne Marie Blondeau, Achard begins by discussing possible Sanskrit terms for the word *rdzogs-chen*. He rightly points out that the proposed terms in the titles of Tibetan tantras (which traditionally are considered to be translations from Sanskrit), such as *mahāsanti, santidarpa* and *mahā ati* (sandhi rules are not followed) are philologically not very convincing. He offers the hypothesis that it was in the 8th and 9th centuries that Tibetan masters gained access to the Indian *rdzogs-chen* texts, which ceased to be available by the 11th (p. 11). These considerations lead Achard to the question of the *rdzogs-chen* tradition during the royal period. For him the fact that there were only texts of the "mind class" (*sems-sde*) in Dun Huang is not very telling, given the geographical distance to Tibet and the Chinese influence (p. 13). Taking all uncertainties into account, he puts forward two working hypotheses: either the *rdzogs-chen* did not exist during the royal period (but then one is hard put to explain its richness at the end of the Yarlung dynasty), or it did exist in one form or another, probably orally (p.13). While the first option reflects the opinion of the "reformed schools" (*gsar ma pa*), Achard suggests investigating the huge material at hand on the basis of the second.

When discussing the hypothetical origins of *rdzogs-chen*, I find it a little confusing to call the "new schools" *écoles réformées* (or the Kagyupas *semi-réformées*). For what did the Kagyupas or Sakyapas reform exactly? After all, these two schools constantly provide identifiable Indian Buddhist sources and so do not have to claim to be sheltering much that was lost or secret—in short, unknown Indian traditions. Or was it an original Tibetan religion of largely non-Buddhist roots that was reformed? In the following paragraph Achard defines *rdzogs-chen* in contrast to traditional Madhyamaka (Achard wrongly employs the form Mādhyamaka). It is true that Tibetan Mādhyamikas usually do not accept positive predications for the ultimate; they use the term *lhun-grub*, Skt. *anābhoga*, lit. 'without effort' (Achard: "spontanément accompli"), however, to describe the activity or the wisdom of a Buddha (see *Madhyamakāvatāra* X.1 and *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* VIII.8, the two main sources for the presentation of the view and path in Madhyamaka). Now, one might argue that the term is applicable only to the level of apparent truth (this, however, is not accepted by the Jonangpas and some Kagyupas), but also in *rdzogs-chen* the term *lhun-grub* usually describes only the *rang-bzhin* aspect, the *ngo-bo* aspect being defined as "primordial purity" (*ka dag*). As Achard points out himself, the latter can be easily accommodated within the emptiness of the Madhyamaka. For centuries the question of whether spontaneously present Buddha qualities exist since beginningless time (even on the ultimate level) or not has been a key philosophical issue among the different Madhyamaka traditions in Tibet, and there are enough passages in the Indian Mahāyāna literature (especially in the texts of the third *dharmacakra*) to support a Madhyamaka presentation (the so-called *dbu-ma chen-po*) in line with *rdzogs-chen*. Against this background one should be careful when making statements on *the* Madhyamaka, such as that it is ". . . incapable d'en (=*ka-dag*) apprécier le caractère spontanément accompli (*lhun-grub*) qui déroge à son expression négative en montrant le côté 'positif' de cet état originel. . . ." (p. 14).

In a second section, Achard concludes his introduction with a discussion of the *rdzogs-chen* texts found in Dun Huang and of the *bSam gtan mig sgron* by gNubs Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, whom Achard dates well after Khri-srong lde-btsan (p. 21). The point Achard carefully arrives at in his introduction is that even though these early texts are written from the *sems-sde* point of view, one can not exclude the existence of the *man-ngag-sde* tradition already in the royal period. This, Achard tells us at the end of his study, follows from the fact that the *Klong drug* and its commentary are quoted in the *bSam gtan mig sgron* and that this commentary contains practices of the *man-ngag-sde*. But the passages of the commentary quoted in the *bSam gtan mig sgron* are not found in the currently available edition of it (see below). For clarity's sake it would have been good to have alluded to this and compare it with a short summary of the research already undertaken (by David Germano, for example, who is only briefly dealt with in a footnote on p. 246).

In the first part of his study Achard presents the three sections (i.e., mind, the natural sphere and precepts, Tib. *sems, klong, man-ngag*) of the *rdzogs-chen* tradition (Nyingma) in a comprehensive and clear way (pp. 25-53). The information on the different lineage holders of the three sections is very handy and a welcome contribution. In a second chapter of this first part, the different presentations of the vehicles are compared. Besides the common nine *yānas*, there are, for example, also the two different systems with twelve *yānas* of O-rgyan gling-pa and the Yang-ti (pp. 54-59). The chapter concludes with a classification of the *man-ngag-sde* in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* of the Derge edition.

In the last chapter of the first part (pp. 62-76), which bears the provocative title "Dualisme mahåyaniste (*sic*) et tantrique," Achard first discusses the possible relation between *rdzogs-chen* and Ch'an. For him the two schools have nothing in common with regard to the doctrine, even though they share lexical items like "non-conceptional" (*mi rtog pa*) or "no action" (*bya bral*). Unfortunately, Achard did not take into account Seyfort Ruegg's important study *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in Comparative Perspective* (London: SOAS, 1989), in which the occurrence of the *rdzogs-chen* term *thod-rgal* is discussed (pp. 165ff.): The notion of "leaping" or "skipping" (*thod rgal*) certain stages of the graded path is not only known in Dhyāna Buddhism (p. 165), but can be followed back to the Vijñānavāda school and Madhyamaka (p. 174). According to mKhan-po Ngag-dbang, *thod-rgal* can mean also "instantaneous" (*cig car*), since this contemplation causes the three *kāya*s (referring to the four visions of *thod-rgal*) to be instantaneously present (see David Germano, *Poetic Thought, the Intelligent Universe, and the Mystery of Self: The Tantric Synthesis of rDzogs chen in Fourteenth Century Tibet*, 3 parts [Ann Arbor: U.M.I., 1992], 841-6; it is difficult to understand why this important work remained unknown to Achard). Against the background of this research, published about a decade ago, one can hardly accept Achard's categorical denial of possible Ch'an or Yogācāra influences on *rdzogs-chen*. I also do not see why, for instance, it is not possible to compare the Yogācāra concept of the "clear light-nature of mind" (*cittaprakṛtiprabhāsvaratā*, Achard: *cittaprakrti-prabhāsvartā*) with *ka-dag* (p. 64). The first is a synonym of emptiness or the perfect nature (see *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.5&22), while *ka-dag* correspondingly defines the *ngo-bo* aspect. Keenan's (Achard, p. 64, fn. 9) problem of the defiled mind co-existing with the clear light-nature has its roots in different and to some extent unbalanced strands of the Yogācāra doctrine—which led to separate exegetical traditions in India and Tibet. One of the exegetical solutions (see Tāranātha's *gZhan stong snying po*, for example) was to postulate that the clear light-nature co-exists with the defiled mind as its true nature, in a similar way as primordial purity does. To be sure, I do not wish to suggest that the concepts are identical, but one has to admit that the Indian Yogācāra texts contain passages expounding a positive notion of emptiness, which hints at the existence of uncaused qualities different from ordinary mind.

In the following chapter Achard tries to negate Tantric "superstitions" ("Vers une négation des 'superstitions' tantriques") and compares *rdzogs-chen* with *mahāmudrā* (64-70). He remarks that early on, in the 11th and 12th centuries, the two traditions were easily distinguishable. With the compilation of the *Karma snying thig* by the Third Karmapa Rang-byung rdo-rje, however, certain practices of the *rdzogs-chen* found their way into the *mahāmudrā* tradition. To find parallels with *mahāmudrā* one has to compare the former with the *bskyed-rim*, *rdzogs-rim* and their union as described in the Mahā- and Anuyoga. The union of the two phases expresses itself in the four *yoga*s of *mahāmudrā*. Achard (p. 65, fn. 15) follows Guenther in stating that these four *yoga*s were first mentioned as a coherent system by sGam-po-pa bSod-nams rin-chen (1079-1153). But 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu dpal (1391-1482) shows in his commentary on the *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* (fol. 70a-b) that "the four *dharma*s (=*yoga*s), which Bodhisattvas and great yogis possess," as described in *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* II.137 (see Bagchi (ed.): 34), correspond to the four *yoga*s of the *mahāmudrā*. Now it is well known that sGam-po-pa accepted and further elaborated the teaching of a *sūtra*-based form of *mahāmudrā*, it having been a disciple of Maitrīpa, Sahajavajra, who first used the term *mahāmudrā* in a non-Tantric context to define the clear light-nature of mind empty of duality. And it is this type of *mahāmudrā* which, like the *rdzogs-chen*, does not need the two phases of *bskyed-rim* and *rdzogs-rim*.

In working out the differences among *rdzogs-chen, mahāmudrā* and Madhyamaka, Achard faults Madhyamaka for not going beyond the void, which merely constitutes the fruit, and repeats that it fails to acknowledge its spontaneous nature. In Tantra, the void is combined with *sukha* to express a fruit taken to be ultimate. Achard sees the problem that there is still a subject apprehending the void. He refers to a note on p. 110 (fn. 40), where Tenzin Namdak Rinpoche is quoted as remarking that emptiness is the object of a subtle form of consciousness with reference to the expression *stong nyid rtogs pa'i shes rab*. This presupposes the existence of a subject and an apprehended object ("objet saisi"). *Mahāmudrā*, too, appears to be dualistic, in that it implies the union of two elements of experience, happiness and the void. Moreover, there is still a kind of seizure or grasping in *mahāmudrā*, there being still a subtle kind of mind activity which permits the recognition of *bde-stong-ye-shes*. "Union" (*zung 'jug*), in Achard's view, implies a dualistic notion like subject-object or *yab-yum*, whereas the term *dbyer-med* ('undifferentiated') is used in *rdzogs-chen* to denote a primordial state of non-duality (p. 68).

With regard to the presentation of Madhyamaka, I have mentioned above that it is quite familiar with the predication *lhun-grub* and that there are Tibetan Madhyamaka (*dbu-ma chen-po*) traditions that take the spontaneously present Buddha qualities (wisdom, activity etc.) to exist primordially and ultimately (i.e., the *gzhan stong* view). The fruit in Madhyamaka is, of course, not only the void, but also the actualization of the three *kāyas*. Now, given Tsong-kha-pa's understanding of the ultimate realization of emptiness, which is still informed by an intellectual analysis of absolute negation, Tenzin Namdak's point is well taken. Go-ram-pa bSod-nams seng-ge, among many others, criticizes Tsong-kha-pa's approach, pointing out that the definitive view is beyond verbal-conceptual formulation. For him the definitive ultimate is realized non-dualistically by sublime beings' meditation (see John W. Pettit, *Mipham's Beacon of Certainty Illuminating the View of Dzogchen* [Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999], 138). The difference with respect to *rdzogs-chen* is, naturally, that in original Yogācāra and Madhyamaka non-conceptual wisdom arises on the path and is as such different from uncaused emptiness. In the *dbu-ma chen-po* we find, however, also the view that wisdom is primordially present and that it arises only in the sense of becoming manifest after hindrances are removed. If this wisdom in its perceiving of emptiness constitutes a subtle form of dualism, then why would not the perception of the "single sphere/drop" (*thig le nyag gcig*) by "primordial awareness" (*rig pa*) do the same? And if the term *zung-'jug* presupposes duality, then *dbyer-med* does so too, because to use the predication *dbyer-med* also requires two things or two qualities like *gsal* and *stong* in *gsal-stong dbyer-med* (this, the explanation of Thrangu Rinpoche).

It is true that *rdzogs-chen* is a system which denies duality to the utmost and is thus in a strong position to criticize subtle dualistic concepts in other systems. I do not want to protect the "lower systems" against such criticism here, but rather point out that a strong denial of even subtle forms of duality can be found throughout Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism. And there have been tendencies in the multifacetted Indo-Tibetan tradition to interpret the Yogācāra and Madhyamaka in a way close to *rdzogs-chen*. A reading of Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa reveals a host of Indian Mahāyāna (especially Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha) elements presented from the *rdzogs-chen* perspective of inseparable primordial purity and spontaneous presence. David Germano (*op. cit.*, 5) writes that ". . . one can profitably interpret the overall system of thought [of *rdzogs-chen*] as a very innovative reinterpretation of the mainstream exoteric Indian Buddhist schools of . . . *Madhyamaka* . . . and . . . *Cittamātra*. . . ." Thus I suggest that the latter are possible historical sources of *rdzogs-chen*.

To further show the superiority of *rdzogs-chen*, this time above the *yogānuttaratantra*, Achard endorses a view, common in certain Bon circles, that the "rainbow-body" (*'ja' lus*) of the *rdzogs-chen* can be obtained in this life, whereas the "illusory-body" (*sgyu lus*) of the *yogānuttaratantra* is ultimately obtained only after death (Achard, p. 69). Tucci's *Religions of Tibet*, which Achard refers to for more information about the *sgyu-lus*, does not support this, however. Nor is it the view of the Kagyupas (according to Thrangu Rinpoche): in Nāropa's twelve special instructions, it is clearly stated that the *sgyu-lus* can be obtained in this life (see Herbert V. Guenther: *The Life and Teaching of Nāropa* [Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1995], 258f.). It is all well and good to seek out emic explanations of a tradition, but one should be careful not to present all statements of a lineage master (especially about other schools or systems) as scientific facts. Otherwise, we just fall back to the level of Tibetology, when the view of the Gelugpas too strongly dominated our knowledge of Tibetan religions.

In the following chapter (pp. 70-6) Achard investigates the very interesting relation Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa posited between *rdzogs-chen* and the *Guhyagarbhatantra*, the root tantra of the Mahāyoga. On the one hand, Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa introduces *rdzogs-chen* notions into his commentary on the *Guhyagarbhatantra*, while on the other, in his *Grub mtha' mdzod*, he says concerning inferior tantras (including the Mahāyoga) that the usual forced entry of the vital winds into the central energy channel creates confused manifestations, which are then mistakenly taken to be non-dual knowledge. The rupture between *rdzogs-chen* and Tantra is thus complete. In *rdzogs-chen* the vital winds are left, rather, in their natural state. The vital wind of wisdom, which circulates in the light channels, can radiate spontaneously and evolve such wisdom manifestations as *kāyas* and light. This coincides with an intensification of the light channel inside the central energy channel.

The second part of the study (pp. 77-99) is dedicated to the history and structure of the *gSang ba snying thig*, the presentation of whose history is mainly based on the *rDzogs pa chen po snying thig gi lo rgyus chen mo* attributed to Zhang-ston bKra-shis rdo-rje (1097-1167). Achard, though, does not accept this attribution, on the grounds that the text is contained in an older work, *The Hundred Nineteen Precepts* (these precepts do not exist as an independent cycle, however) and on the basis of a Sanskrit title (p. 77). But the title given, **Bhapamiphebsdhanāma*, is so far from a possible intelligible reading that the second argument can be ruled out straight away (Achard himself admits that it is a weak one). The first argument is not further elaborated. We are only told that the corpus is very complex and that the analysis of it is based on lists integrated into Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa's *Grub mtha' mdzod* (Achard, p. 97).

Based on this *Great History*, the transmission lineage of the *gSang ba snying thig* is as follows: dGa'-rab rdo-rje → Mañjuśrīmitra → Śrī Siṃha → Vimalamitra → Myang Ting-'dzin bzang-po. The last of these had hid a part of the cycle in the Zhva'i lha-khang. One hundred years later lDang-ma lHun-rgyal rediscovered this part (based on the *Great History,* Achard gives the year 907 for this event). In 937 (again according to the *Great History*) lDang-ma passed the teaching on to lCe-btsun Seng-ge dbang-phyug, and it was passed on in turn to Myang bKa'-gdams-pa, Thod-pa Lo-tsā-ba and 'Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba. lCe-btsun had hidden some of the texts in gNubs-yul, some in Rong mnar-mda' and some in Lang-gro mchad-pa. Acting on a vision of Vimalamitra, lCe-btsun revealed the *Bi ma snying thig* in mChims-phu and hid them again in 'O-yug. He died in 1047. In the following Achard seems to have made an error in calculation of ten years: he writes, "Trente ans après ce décès, en *1067, lCe-sgom nag-po redécouvre les textes cachés à Rong mnar-mda'. . . ." (p. 82). Finally Zhang-ston rediscovered the *Cycle of the Unsurpassable Secret*. Later, Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa (1308-1364), who received this lineage transmission, gave the *gSang ba snying thig* a strong boost, his work on it being considered to have the same value as a *gter-ma* (Achard, p. 82). The transmission lineage is recorded down to Kong-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas.

In the following chapter the component structure of the *gSang ba snying thig* (i.e., *The Seventeen Tantras*, the *Bi ma snying thig*, *The Hundred Nineteen Precepts* and supplementary works) is presented in a most satisfactory way, though the material has been already presented to some extent by Germano (*op. cit.*, 39-50).

The third (and main) part of the study (pp. 101-214) is dedicated to the *Man ngag dum dum 'khrigs pa* ("A Compilation of Precepts"), which itself constitutes the first of *The Hundred Nineteen Precepts* in the *gSang ba snying thig*. It belongs to the *Bi ma snying thig*, which was rediscovered by lCe-btsun Seng-ge dbang-phyug. The *Man ngag dum dum 'khrigs pa* consists of 74 loosely connected precepts. These usually concern one of the following three topics: distinguishing saṃsāra from nirvāṇa, "breakthrough" (*khregs chod*) and "direct transcendence" (*thod rgal*). Before the translation of the *Man ngag dum dum 'khrigs pa* a comprehensive introduction to the main topics ("natural basis" (*gzhi*), "awareness" (*rig pa*), "four visions" (*snang ba bzhi*), "channels" (*rtsa*), "drops" (*thig le*), breakthrough, direct transcendence, "natural liberation" (*rang grol*) and the rainbow-body) enables the reader to follow the sometimes enigmatic precepts. The explanations are mainly based on Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa's work. To a great extent these topics have been already treated—based on the same sources—in Germano's thesis (*op. cit.*). With regard to the presentation of the four light channels (Achard, p. 131) one should add that there is occasionally a fifth light channel called "empty [and] naturally free" (*stong pa rang grol*). It is usually omitted, because the radiation of the main four light channels pervades four wheels which have arisen from an arc-shaped channel of light splitting up in the "slender coil" (*phra la 'dril ba*) channel. Five light channels, on the other hand, can be compared to the five types of wisdom (Germano, *op. cit.*, pp. 261ff.).

The *Man ngag dum dum 'khrigs pa* is a very difficult and often cryptic text, and it is surprising how well Achard managed to translate it, even without, so it seems, a commentary or the oral explanations of a competent lama. There are a few cases, however, where I have difficulties following the translation. In the 38th fragment, which deals with the fourth vision of the *thod-rgal* practice, this vision, that is, "the exhaustion of *dharmatā*," is glossed "not being established as anything" (*chos nyid zad pa'i snang ba gang du'ang ma grub pa ni*). Achard (pp. 194 & 274) relates the gloss only to *snang-ba* and translates: "La Vision de l'Épuisement de la Réalité est totalement incréée." The vision itself is, however, "created" in some sense by the preceding ones; otherwise a distinction among four visions would not make sense. I prefer to read: "The vision of the 'exhaustion of *dharmatā*'—[that means nothing] being established as anything." Achard's literal translation of the fourth vision (*chos nyid zad pa'i snang ba*) as "*épuisement de la réalité*" is a little misleading. To be sure, it is not the *dharmatā*—as the unchangeable true nature of phenomena, a synonym of suchness—that is exhausted here (according to Thrangu Rinpoche and Tenzin Namdak Rinpoche), but rather the apparitional reality of the preceding visions. In view of that, Germano (*op. cit.*, 889) translates "vision of exhaustion within reality" and Matthew Kapstein (*The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism* [Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1993], vol. 1, 371) "visionary appearance of the cessation [of apparitional] reality." Further down, Achard translates ". . . [the five lights] . . . se purifient naturellement dans l'Espace propre à l'Épuisement de la Réalité (. . . *chos nyid zad pa'i dbyings su rang dag pas* . . .)." I propose seeing in *dbyings-su rang dag-pa* a term explaining *chos-nyid zad-pa* (the genitive being one of identification), and read: "[the five lights] become naturally (spontaneously)[1] pure in the openness of space, that is, the exhaustion of [apparitional] *dharmatā* (the five lights). According to Lama Rangrig (Kathmandu) the five lights are a pure vision of the five elements, and these five lights can be referred to as *dharmatā*, which is dissolved in the fourth vision. The clause which immediately follows (*snang ba'i ngo bo gang du yang grub pa med pas*) supports this: "And therefore (Achard renders neither the preceding nor the following causal instrumental) an essence of [these] appearances (i.e., the lights dissolving in space) is not established at all." If, like Achard, one takes *snang-ba* as "Vision," it would be difficult to understand the causal relation between "the essence of the [Fourth] Vision is not established as anything" and "the lights dissolve in space."

Tenses are occasionally ignored. In the ninth fragment a predicate in the past tense (*bzung bar byas te*) is rendered with a future tense ("maîtrisera"). The whole construction of this sentence is wrong. *de bzung bar byas te // chos sku'i lta stangs kyis gyen la smin phrag tu mig dang shes pa rtse gcig tu dril la bzung ngo //* (p. 269). Achard: "On les maîtrisera grâce au Regard du Corps Absolu en concentrant uniment les yeux et la conscience vers le haut, dans l'espace intersourcilier" (p. 169). The sequence of events is the other way round: "Having mastered [the fluctuating adamantine chains], one [then] has one-pointedly performed [the concentration of] the eyes and the consciousness upwards towards a point between the eyebrows through the viewing of *dharmakāya*." In the third fragment, as another example, which is on *kāya*s, lights and awareness, the connection between different parts of the sentences is not clear at all: *lu gu rgyud 'char te lu gu rgyud kyi tshigs la'ang sku'i snang ba 'char te / rang gi ngo bo rtsa nas thig le dang / thig le nang du zhal ras kyi snang ba 'char ba ste //* (p. 268). Achard (p. 163): "C'est là l'émergence des chaînes adamantines; dans les jointures-mêmes de ces chaînes émergent des manifestations de Corps qui constituent (en fait) des manifestations des visages

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[1] Explanation of Tenzin Namdak Rinpoche (Kathmandu, August 15, 2000).

paisibles apparaissant dans des Disques Lumineux, lesquels, issus des canaux, représentent votre propre Essence" (p. 163). It is difficult to follow how the clause starting with *rang-gi ngo-bo* can be grammatically constructed as a relative clause depending on the preceding appearance of *kāyas*. One has better reason to construct: ". . . from the channels, their (i.e., the *kāyas*') own essence, [emerge] drops and. . . ." If this does not produce a clear meaning one should offer a rephrasing and at the same time defend one's interpretation.

In fragment no. 10 *stong-pa* has been taken as an adjective of the following *snang-ba*, which is not possible in Tibetan (*nam mkha' stong pa la rig pa stong pa snang ba yin pas //* (p. 269); Achard: "Puisque les visions vides du Discernement brillent dans le ciel vide. . . ." (p. 169). The correct translation should be: "since empty awareness appears in an empty sky. . . ."

Technical terms are not always rendered consistently. The *rdzogs-chen* term *klong*, for example, is rendered as *Espace Abyssal* and at times also as *Abîme*. Capital letters in Achard's work mean that the term stands for something metaphysical. It is thus surprising that such a purely negative word as *abîme* is used (*Collins Robert's French Dictionary* explains the word only in a negative context like *l'abîme qui nous sépare, au bord de l'abîme, les abîmes de l'enfer/de la nuit/du temps*). It is true that Sarat Chandra Das also has *abyss* for *klong*, but one should definitely opt for the meaning 'vastness' or 'space'. In *rdzogs-chen* the term *klong* stands for the natural open state of all phenomena (that is, their emptiness) within self-arisen primordial wisdom. Some Tibetan technical terms or constructions originating in Indian Buddhism have not been properly understood or rendered. Tib. *bdag-po'i rkyen* (Skt. *adhipatipratyaya*) has thus been translated as "*condition subjective*" (p. 161). It is usually translated as 'dominant condition', and for the most part refers to the power exercised by the sense faculties. For Dharmakīrti, for example, it may also be the influence of other people's behaviour. In Yogācāra, the mutual influence of commonly arising manifestations (typically of the outside world) which people of the same realm share is called *adhipatipratyaya*. *Yang-dag-par rdzogs-pa'i sangs-rgyas* (Skt. *samyaksaṃbuddha*) has been rendered as "Parfait Buddha Purissime" (p. 78). *Yang-dag-par* only stands for the Sanskrit prefix *samyak-*, which has the meaning 'right', 'proper'. In any case, it has nothing to do with "extremely pure." The fact that the author does not know Sanskrit (as he himself declares in the next part of the book, when admitting that he only used a French translation to study the Trika of the Śaivas) becomes clear in the numerous spelling mistakes of Sanskrit terms. Also, the transliteration is not always consistent. Thus we find Mañjushrîmitra and Mañjuśrīmitra even on the same page (79). The same applies to the foreword by Blondeau (*Trīka* for *Trika, Upaniśad* for *Upaniṣad*).

The fourth part of Achard's work (pp. 215-54) is dedicated to a study of the origins of *rdzogs-chen*, which, as the provocative formulation in the title suggests, resorted in his opinion to "Borrowing, Plagiarism and Unspeakable Sources" (Emprunts, plagiats et sources inavouables). Achard starts by pointing out that Tibetology used to readily accept the judgement of Tibetan Buddhists that the Bonpos have taken over from them many concepts, such as karman, transmigration and nirvāṇa, and then sets out to provide evidence that the borrowing went on also in the opposite direction. First he suggests that Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa appropriated a short text on signs by which one can foretell the exact time of death (namely, the *'Chi rtags gsal ba'i sgron ma*) from the famous Bon cycle *Yang rtse klong chen* written by bZhod-ston dngos-grub. Even though Achard grants that both may have used a common source, he rejects this possibility as unlikely on the basis that no such common source is known, and suggests that the simplest explanation is that Klong-chen simply copied the *'Chi rtags*. To be sure, Klong-chen could have incorporated the Bon text unknowingly from his teacher Kumararāja (1266-1343), who had a Bon master (p. 223). The next case of "plagiarism" Achard (p. 224) locates in the *Tshig don bcu gcig pa* of the *Bi ma snying thig*. Passages in it when compared with the *dGos 'dod gsal byed bshad gzhi'i mchong* of the *Ye khri dkar po* indeed suggest that they have been taken over by Klong-chen rab-'byams pa, assuming that *Ye khri dkar po* is older. This, according to Achard, is established by the fact that its rediscoverer, Lung-bon lha-gnyan (b. 1088) was a contemporary of Milarepa. Later on (p. 230) Achard relativizes this statement, however, by admitting that the dating of the *Ye khri* is entirely based on Bon sources. Achard refers to his unpublished work *Pic des Visions*, where he documented a similar relation between the *Klong drug*, a tantra of the *gSang ba snying thig*, and the *Ye khri*. He further shows that in order to exclude plagiarism one has to assume among other things the improbable existence of the relevant texts of the *man-ngag-sde* already during the royal period (p. 231). Finally, Achard convincingly demonstrates that two texts of the *gSang ba snying thig* and the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* share common passages. As yet, however, Achard's research has not yielded a clear picture of the origin of these two cycles. But given their early date of composition (11th cent.) the probable consequence is, according to him, that the relevant texts (including some of the *klong-sde* and *man-ngag-sde*) existed already during the royal period (pp. 238f.). The following chapter is dedicated to this question. Achard admits that there is not much to prove such an old age of the *gSang ba snying thig*, only quotes in the *bSam gtan mig sgron* of gNubs Sangs-rgyas ye-shes (late 9th/early 10th cent.?) not only from a *klong-sde* text, but also from a "*Klong drug*," which Achard thinks is the *Kun tu bzang po klong drug pa'i rgyud* belonging to the cycle of Seventeen Tantras in the *gSang ba snying thig*. The mention of its commentary (attributed to Vimalamitra) supports this. Achard concedes, however, that he could not locate the quoted passages in the *Kun tu bzang po klong drug rgyud kyi 'grel pa* (in a footnote Achard remarks that he may have overlooked the passage (p. 240, fn. 5), in which case he should keep on searching, since the *onus probandi* rests on him, and all the more, given that the following remarks on style and the existence of other commentaries on the Seventeen Tantras do not exactly prove the assumed age of the *Klong drug gyi 'grel pa*). The remainder of this chapter, interesting though it is, depends on the validity of this hypothesis. It is thus not fair to criticize the stance of Germano, who takes the *man-ngag-sde* as a later development—and partly as a reaction to the novel Tantric techniques of the "New Schools"—on the grounds that it is "irreconcilable with the mention of the *Klong drug* and its commentary in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*" (translated by me from the French, p. 246, fn. 39).

In the last chapter of the fourth part (pp. 248-53) Achard discusses the influences of the non-dualistic system of the Śaivaite Trika. Several earlier scholars, including Stein, Sailley and Tucci, noticed Śaiva influences on Bon (Stein) and Buddhist traditions. Achard (p. 248) follows Tucci's hypothesis that the "substantialism" of the Jonangpas could be a reflection of the Śaivaite schools of Kashmir. This assumption is based on the wrong premise that Dol-po-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1292-1361) was a disciple of Yu-mo Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, who himself was a disciple of the Kashmiri Paṇḍita Candranātha. In the biographies of Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan no such Yu-mo Mi-bskyod rdo-rje is mentioned. Whom Tucci had in mind was probably the 11th-century Kālacakra master Yu-mo Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, whose doctrine was indeed close to that of Dol-po-pa (see Cyrus Stearns: "The Genesis of gZhan stong," in: *Études Asiatiques (Revue de la Société Suisse — Asie)* 49, 4 (1995), 841, which was not consulted by Achard). To call the Jonangpas "substantialists," is an endorsement of the polemics of their opponents. The Sakya scholar 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-rtse dbang-phyug (1524-1568) once came to the defence of Dol-po-pa by saying that he never postulated the existence of a permanent entity, namely the Buddha-nature. In all his writings Dol-po-pa defines the ground of emptiness as unconditioned clear light-nature, which according to mKhyen-rtse dbang-phyug was also the view of Bu-ston (Stearns: *The Buddha from Dolpo*, 67). A careful study of Dol-po-pa's life and works rules out a direct Śaivaite influence. To endorse his *gzhan-stong* view, Dol-po-pa quotes numerous *sūtra*s and Indian Buddhist *śāstra*s, and there are indeed passages in the Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha literature which support the Jonangpas. Dol-po-pa gained his new controversial insight mainly on the basis of the *Kālacakra* practice, however, a late Tantra which admittedly contains Hindu influences. Tucci does not supply any evidence for his remark that the *rdzogs-chen* has many links to Śaivism. Stein's well-known comparison of the two Buddhist Tantric principles of *thabs* (active) and *shes-rab* (passive) with Śakti (active) and Śiva (passive), mentioned by Achard, has a fundamental flaw: the Buddhist female deities symbolize the passive principle of supreme knowledge (*shes rab*), whereas their Śaivite counterparts (Śakti) stand for the active principle.

Based on a French translation of the Śaivite Tantra *Vijñāna Bhairava* by Silburn, Achard has identified a set of visionary techniques in this work which are similar to or even identical with the *thod-rgal* of the *rdzogs-chen*. Achard admits, though, that the philosophy or theology of the two systems differs considerably. An anthropomorphic conception of the ultimate (*Bhaivara*) stands against the more abstract *rdzogs-chen* categories of "Primordial Purity" or "Spontaneous Presence." Very interesting is Achard's finding that a channel connecting the heart with the eyes is already mentioned in the *Praśna-Upaniṣad* and the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*—a visionary technique well known in *rdzogs-chen* (Achard, p. 252). I share the caution of Blondeau who says in her foreword that still a lot needs to be done, and that Indologists should interest themselves with this question (p. 3). A careful philological comparison of common visionary techniques may shed more light on the exact development of the Trika, Bon and the Buddhist *rdzogs-chen*.

In his conclusion (pp. 255f.) Achard describes two possible lines of development: 1. The Bonpos were inspired by the Trika of Śaivism, from which they appropriated certain elements, including visionary techniques. They may have also incorporated Buddhist elements before Buddhism became the official religion in Tibet. (I do not understand the hesitation here. If, in old texts belonging to the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*, *bon-sku* means exactly the same as *chos-sku* (Achard, p. 233, fn. 57), how is it that the Bonpos have this Mahāyāna concept of *dharmakāya*? Or does the *peut-être* express the sense that Buddhist concepts were taken over only after Buddhism had become the official religion?) The Nyingmapas would then have directly borrowed *rdzogs-chen* from Bon. 2. Hypothetical Indian Buddhist teachings, which later formed the Nyingma tradition, borrowed certain elements from the Trika. During the royal dynasty and after its fall the Bonpos were inspired by this Nyingma *rdzogs-chen* and integrated it into their own teaching.

Achard's valuable study contains very interesting findings. Even though not everything has exactly been proven yet, it seems indeed likely that the *man-ngag-sde* is much older than previously thought by Western researchers. One will eagerly await new results from Achard's investigation of the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*. With regard to the research on the origins of *rdzogs-chen,* Achard's identification of *rdzogs-chen* visionary techniques in the Trika points in a new direction. Nevertheless, a systematic comparison of *rdzogs-chen* with Indian Mahāyāna and Chinese Ch'an should not be neglected either.

Reviewer: Klaus-Dieter Mathes

Cyrus Stearns: *The Buddha from Dolpo: A Study of the Life and Thought of the Tibetan Master Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen.* New York: SUNY, 1999. xi+318pp. ISBN 0-7914-4192-X.

Tibet has not only inherited a rich variety of Indian Buddhist—and to some small extent also Chinese Ch'an—traditions, but also the tensions between different strands of the Buddhist doctrine. The philosophy of mainstream Tibetan Buddhism, mainly represented by the Kadampas and the major parts of the Nyingma, Kagyu and Sakya schools, developed along the lines of the Indian Madhyamaka traditions, which directly or indirectly endorse the notion that everything, including the qualities of a Buddha, lack an own-being and are thus empty of a true independent self (Tib. *rang stong*). They were therefore at odds with the positive descriptions of ultimate reality in a number of sūtras and treatises, mainly Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha in provenance. Such teachings—that an everlasting Buddha-nature endowed with qualities is already present in ordinary sentient beings—had to be either rejected as of a provisional nature (meant for those who were not yet fit to endure the reality that everything is empty) or explained by recourse to other strategies. Against this background, Dol-po-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1292-1361) must have seemed to be doing something truly outrageous when he decided in his own "Fourth Buddhist Council" to take the numerous positive statements on the ultimate literally, and to restrict the favoured *rang-stong* interpretation of his colleagues to the level of apparent truth. He understood the ultimate as being not empty of its own proper qualities, but only empty of factors alien to or different from it (Tib. *gzhan stong*), and started to use this term systematically in writing. It is the great merit of Cyrus Stearns to have not only for the first time presented the life and thought of this controversial exegete, but also to have given a historical survey of the *gzhan-stong*. Moreover, Stearns has translated in their entirety two works crucial to the understanding of Dol-po-pa's *gzhan-stong*.

Stearns's book, which is based on his Ph.D. dissertation (University of Washington 1996), is divided into two parts. After a short introduction, the first part enters into a detailed presentation of the life of Dol-po-pa. This is followed by a chapter on "A Historical Survey of the Zhentong Tradition in Tibet" and a chapter on "The Doctrine of the Buddha from Dolpo." The second part includes an annotated translation of two texts by Dol-po-pa: *A*

General Commentary on the Doctrine, a relatively short text written in an early stage of Dol-po-pa's life, and the important *Great Calculation of the Doctrine Which Has the Significance of a Fourth Council*. After the notes and the bibliography, Stearns's work concludes with an extensive index.

In the introduction Stearns rightly points out that the question of the Buddha-nature became an important issue during the period of Dol-po-pa. It was mainly discussed among masters who were both intimately involved in the practice of the *Kālacakratantra* and either personally knew each other or had many of the same teachers and disciples (p. 1). Dol-po-pa equated the ultimate with an everlasting Buddha-nature constituted by all qualities of a Buddha since beginningless time. And it was the fact that no one had ever said this before that, according to Stearns (p. 5), caused all the trouble. In the *bDen pa gnyis gsal ba'i nyi ma* (Kun mkhyen dol po'i gsung 'bum, Delhi 1984, p. 5), however, Dol-po-pa refers to a certain rJe Pho-ri-ba who also defines the ultimate truth as "empty of other" (*gzhan gyis stong pa*) (see also Stearns, p. 50). Dol-po-pa defended his position by admitting that his use of Dharma language was indeed new in Tibet, but well known in the realm of the mythic Shambala (Stearns, p. 5).

On pp. 11-39 Stearns gives a detailed account of Dol-po-pa's life. Apart from the well-known sketches of Dol-po-pa's life in the historical works by Tāranātha (1575-1634) and Mang-thos Lhun-grub rgya-mtsho (1523-1596), Stearns also uses for the first time two early life-stories written by Dol-po-pa's main disciples Lha'i rgyal-mtshan (1319-1401) and Kun-spangs Chos-grags dpal-bzang (1283-1363?). The unpublished biography by Lha'i rgyal-mtshan a copy of which is in the possession of Leonard van der Kuijp, Harvard University, proved to be more reliable (Stearns, p. 177, fn. 3) and is thus the mainly followed source. The only point I have to add is that according to my Dolpo informants Dol-po-pa's home, mKhan-phug, was about five kilometres south of Shimen (*shing sman*?) Gaon on the western bank of the Panzang Khola. From there, Dol-po-pa would have had to travel mainly east and not north (Stearns p. 11) in order to reach Mustang.

The historical survey of the *gzhan-stong* tradition in Chapter Two is divided into the period before Dol-po-pa (pp. 42-5), the time of Dol-po-pa (pp. 45-55) and the *gzhan-stong* tradition afterwards (pp. 55-77). Stearns has consulted for the first time most of the available material and has managed to dig out quite a few interesting details. Thus, he found in the works of Jo-nang Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1507-1566), namely in the *Zab khrid brgya dang brgyad kyi yi ge*, a reference to a notebook of bTsan Kha-bo-che (b. 1021). Kun-dga' grol-mchog's quotation from the latter contains the earliest material dealing with the *gzhan-stong* tradition in Tibet. Stearns further analyzed an early *Kālacakra* text, the *gSal sgron skor bzhi* by Yu-mo-ba Mi-bskyod rdo-rje (11th cent.), and points out that Yu-mo-ba's understanding of a particular *Kālacakra* concept of emptiness (*stong gzugs*) is also found in Dol-po-pa's work. According to Thu'u (Stearns wrongly gives "Thu" in the index, see p. 315) bkwan Blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma (1737-1802), it was Yu-mo-ba who originated the *gzhan-stong* teachings (Stearns, p. 44). With regard to Dol-po-pa and his *gzhan-stong* view, Stearns gleaned the important fact that Dol-po-pa's main source of inspiration was *The Bodhisattva Trilogy (Sems 'grel skor gsum)*, comprising the definitive commentaries on the *Kālacakra-*, *Hevajra-* and *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*. In fact, Dol-po-pa was a consummate practitioner of the *Kālacakra*, and even thought that he had actually gone to the mythical realm Shambala where, as opposed to Tibet, his controversial understanding of the teaching was understood (p. 46).

It was mainly Dol-po-pa's use of Dharma terminology, Stearns observes, which caused a hermeneutical shock to many contemporary scholars (p. 48). Stearns distinguishes two things Dol-po-pa did in regard to language. First, he freely used *termini technici* which were acceptable in their original context of *sūtra*s and *śāstras* but not in ordinary scholarly discourse. Second, Dol-po-pa created, or at least made the first extensive use of, terms like *gzhan-stong* or *kun-gzhi ye-shes* (p. 49). Stearns also discusses the possible influence of the Third Karmapa Rang-byung rdo-rje (1284-1339) who, according to Kong-sprul blo-gros mtha'-yas, distinguished *kun-gzhi ye-shes* from *kun-gzhi rnam-shes* in his autocommentary on the *Zab mo nang don*. Since I possess a private copy of Rang-byung rdo-rje's *Zab mo nang gi don gsal bar byed pa'i 'grel pa bzhugs so* (block print, 93 folios), I can add the fact that the commentary was composed according to the colophon (fol. 92b6) in the second month of the ox-year, that is, 1325 (Stearns: before 1326 according to *The Blue Annals*). I can further confirm Stearns's assumption that the term *kun-gzhi ye-shes* is not used anywhere in Rang-byung rdo-rje's commentary. In my opinion Stearns is therefore perfectly right in refuting HOOKHAM who thinks that Rang-byung rdo-rje was very much influenced by Dol-po-pa and his *gzhan-stong* doctrine. It was rather the other way round. But at the time of Dol-po-pa's visit to Tsurphu in 1322, neither the Karmapa nor Dol-po-pa were using controversial *gzhan-stong* terminology (pp. 48 and 201, fn. 21). Rang-byung rdo-rje must have been close to or in favour of a *gzhan-stong* view, though; otherwise he would not have prophesied to Dol-po-pa during their meeting in Tsurphu: "You will soon have a view, practice, and Dharma language much better than those which you have now" (p. 48). Stearns also found the term *gzhan-stong* used during a discussion of the Buddha-nature in the *mKha' 'gro snying thig* of the gter-ston Padma las-'brel-rtsal (13th cent.). We are further informed that Klong-chen rab-'byams pa uses the term *gzhan-stong* when describing the three natures. The predicate *gzhan-gyis stong-pa* probably refers to the dependent nature, the imagined being *rang-gis stong-pa* and the perfect *gnyis-kas stong-pa* (p. 51) (unfortunately Stearns has not presented this important point precisely enough, and the *rDzogs pa chen po sems nyid ngal gso'i 'grel pa shing rta chen*, from where it is quoted, is not available to me at the moment). It would have been also helpful to explain how this differs exactly from Dol-po-pa's presentation of the three natures. I would not follow Stearns in saying "that the term *gzhan-stong* had been used in Tibet before the time of Dol-po-pa, albeit only in isolated instances, and without the same connotation that he attached to it" (p. 51). Stearns himself has quoted one page earlier Pho-ri-ba's definition of the two truths (relative truth is *rang-stong* and ultimate truth is *gzhan-stong*), which Dol-po-pa follows exactly in his *bDen gnyis gsal ba'i nyi ma* (see above). Finally Stearns points out the important fact that at the end of his controversial *bKa' bsdu bzhi pa* Dol-po-pa imitated Sa-skya Paṇḍita by taking a couplet from the latter's *sDom gsum rab dbye*—a reflection of Dol-po-pa's Sakya upbringing (pp. 52f.).

In the following chapter (pp. 55-78) Stearns surveys the *gzhan-stong* tradition after Dol-po-pa. He starts by discussing the views of Dol-po-pa's first main opponent, Red-mda'-ba gZhon-nu blo-gros (1348-1413), who first studied with Dol-po-pa's great disciples Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal (1285-1379) and Sa-bzang Mati Paṇ-chen (1294-1376), and eventually criticized the Jonang philosophy after having carefully investigated the texts referred to by

Dol-po-pa. Stearns points out, however, that Red-mda'-ba distinguishes *rang-stong* from *gzhan-stong* when describing the two truths (pp. 58-9), and that Red-mda'-ba's works must still be carefully investigated in order to determine his position. Despite Red-mda'-ba's admittance of the validity of *gzhan-stong* with regard to the definitive meaning in the *Kālacakra*, later generations of Tibetan scholars continued to view him as a foe of the Jonangpas and the *Kālacakra*—probably, Stearns goes on to say, because he criticized certain aspects of the Jonang teaching, such as an eternal and permanent Buddha-nature. Nevertheless, the influence of the Jonangpas was felt strongly, especially in the province of Tsang. For the time up to Jonang Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1507-1566) there is little information about the Jonangpas from this tradition itself. Stearns informs us that in the 15th century the Jonangpas were mainly attacked by Tsongkapa's main disciples mKhas-grub rje (1385-1438) and rGyal-tshab rje (1364-1431). Next, he gives a brief description of the *gzhan-stong* proponent Shākya mchog-ldan (1427-1507), whose view differed considerably from Dol-po-pa's. Unfortunately Stearns does not specify these differences, only referring (pp. 61 & 208, fn. 76) to a short text by Tāranātha with the title "Twenty-one Differences with respect to the Profound Meaning" (Stearns: ". . . twenty-one profound points"). The title on the front page "*Zab don nyer gcig pa bzhugs so*," is misleading, and should be understood in the sense of the title given in the colophon: "*Zab don khyad par nyer gcig pa*"), in which Tāranātha summarizes the differences between Shākya mchog-ldan and Dol-po-pa by saying that the latter takes non-dual wisdom as permanent, and Shākya mchog ldan not. But unfortunately Tāranātha's presentation of Shākya mchog-ldan's position is far from accurate. According to Shākya mchog-ldan's *Shing rta chen po'i srol gnyis kyi rnam par dbye ba bshad nas nges don gcig tu sgrub pa'i bstan bcos kyi rgyas 'grel bzhugs so* (Collected Works, Vol. 2, p. 484, l. 3), for example, *dharmadhātu*-wisdom and non-dual wisdom are taken to be names for the unchangeable perfect nature when describing post-meditation in the Yogācāra (for Shākya mchog-ldan a term used for *gzhan-stong* as opposed to *cittamātra*). This work was written after Shākya mchog-ldan's first meeting with the Seventh Karmapa and thus should reflect Shākya mchog-ldan's *gzhan-stong* view. Determining Shākya mchog-ldan's position in relation to the mainstream Jonang tradition remains one of the main tasks of future *gzhan-stong* studies.

Stearns found in a short untitled text by Shākya mchog ldan in which he compares the views of Dol-po-pa and Bu-ston the interesting statement that there is no basis for disagreement between the Jonang and Zhalu traditions on the subject of *rang-stong* and *gzhan-stong* (p. 63). He further briefly mentions the Seventh Karmapa for having seen no contradictions between *rang-stong* and *gzhan-stong*, the Eighth Karmapa (1507-1554) for having written a *gzhan-stong* commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (he modified his views later on), and gShong-chen bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan for having claimed to be a rebirth of Dol-po-pa (p. 63). In the following (pp. 64-7) Stearns analyzes the relationship between the Jonangpas and Sakyapas. He finds that masters like sGo-rom Kun-dga' legs-pa (1477-1544), Kun-dga' grol-mchog or 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-rtse dbang-phyug practised and studied both Jonang and Sakya teachings without encountering any serious obstacles from such an approach. Shākya mchog-ldan and Kun-dga' grol-mchog, however, noticed a trend among the Sakyapas of rejecting Dol-po-pa in favour of Red-mda'-ba and the Gelugpas (p. 65). The life of Tāranātha, who made great efforts to revive the Jonang teaching, is described at some length. Tāranātha and his successor Kun-dga' rin-chen rgya-mtsho were the first to experience serious troubles from hostile groups (p. 69). In the following (pp. 70-4), Stearns presents some very interesting new historical facts on the suppression of the Jonang sect, which was previously thought to have occurred in 1658. However, the *gzhan-stong* doctrine had already been banned at Jonang in 1650, at a time when a Gelug teaching institute was being established at Tāranātha's monastery rTag-ldan dam-chos-gling. This was done under the pretext of a request by 'Jam-dbyangs sprul-sku, a Gelug monk brought up in Mongolia and recognized by the Fifth Dalai Lama as the rebirth of Tāranātha probably for this particular purpose. 'Jam-dbyangs sprul-sku was the son of the Mongol Khalka Tusheyetu Khan and the first of a series of Mongol incarnations known as the Khalka rJe-btsun dam-pa.

In the remaining part of the chapter (pp. 74-8), Stearns shortly presents the main proponents of *gzhan-stong* during the time after it had been officially banned. An important role was played by Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698-1755), who brought about a brief renaissance of the Jonang teachings by introducing them to some of the main Kagyu teachers, including the Thirteenth Karmapa bDud-'dul rdo-rje (1733-1797), the Tenth Zhwa-dmar-pa Chos-grub (Stearns: 'grub) rgya-mtsho (1742-1792) and Situ Paṇ-chen Chos-kyi byung-gnas (1699/1700-1774; Stearns wrongly gives 1770 as the year of birth). Situ blended the seemingly irreconcilable *gzhan-stong* and *mahāmudrā* positions and spread them throughout the Kagyu of Khams (p. 76). According to Stearns the *gzhan-stong* revival initiated by Tshe-dbang nor-bu and Situ Paṇ-chen resulted in the non-sectarian (*ris med*) movement in Khams. Stearns rightly points out that the *gzhan-stong* taught by such *ris-med* masters as Kong-sprul blo-gros mtha'-yas (1813-1899), 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-rtse dbang-po (1820-1892) or Mi-pham rgya-mtsho (1846-1912) varies a great deal from the original teachings of Dol-po-pa (p. 77).

The third chapter (pp. 79-105) is wholly dedicated to a description of Dol-po-pa's doctrine. It is mainly based on the two texts translated in the following chapter, the *A General Commentary on the Doctrine* and *The Great Calculation of the Doctrine Which Has the Significance of a Fourth Council*. The mere title of the latter text invited massive criticism. As Stearns rightly points out (pp. 79-80), the entire Buddhist tradition accepts only three great councils in India held for the purpose of consolidating the teaching after the Buddha's nirvāṇa. Thus Dol-po-pa's claim that his text served as a fourth council appeared outrageous. The term "calculation of the doctrine" reflects the fact that Dol-po-pa divides the Buddhist teaching into four epochs. Besides from the four epochs of varying quality which make up a cosmic age, Dol-po-pa also uses a lesser set of four epochs to refer to the qualitatively different periods of the teaching. Dol-po-pa thus allocates philosophical doctrines to epochs (*yuga*) according to purely dogmatic criteria (p. 80). Even though this accords with the *Kālacakra*, it is not clear whether Dol-po-pa and the *Vimalaprabhā* consider the same set of teachings to belong to the perfect period, and to be thus Kṛtayuga Dharma (p. 81). What lay behind this redefining of the accepted hermeneutical procedures in Tibet was the fact that Dol-po-pa held the teachings of the Buddha and only certain teachers like Maitreya, Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu in the highest esteem (Kṛtayuga Dharma), while others, such as Ārya Vimuktisena and Haribhadra, represented a falling off (Tretāyuga Dharma). After an explanation of Dol-po-pa's *rang-stong / gzhan-stong* distinction, Stearns describes Dol-po-pa's understanding of the basis, the path and the result. The basis or ground is, according to Stearns, the Buddha-nature, that is, "the gnosis (wisdom) which is the universal ground or substratum (*kun gzhi ye shes*) for every phenomenon experienced in saṃsāra and nirvāṇa" (p. 83). The path consists of the accumulation of wisdom and merit, by which the hindrances are removed. The conditioned wisdom cultivated on the path should not be confounded with the self-arisen wisdom of the ultimate reality or the universal ground which exists since beginningless time and is only revealed and thus not conditioned. (Dol-po-pa distinguishes a *rkyen-las byung-ba'i ye-shes* from a *rang-byung ye-shes*; see *bsTan pa spyi 'grel*, p. 689 and Stearns, pp. 115 & 230, fn. 14.) Next Stearns analyzes Dol-po-pa's redefinition of Cittamātra and Madhyamaka and draws our attention to a particular understanding of the *trisvabhāva*-theory in which this latter is no longer necessarily Cittamātra, but more properly "great Madhyamaka." As based on the *Bṛhaṭṭīkā*, the imagined and the dependent natures are explained to be *rang-stong*, while the perfect nature, equated with the ultimate, is *gzhan-stong*. Stearns, having discovered in Kun-dga' grol-mchog's *gZhan stong gi lta khrid* a quotation from an instruction manual by bTsaṅ Kha-bo-che, in which the latter explains the perfect nature to be empty of the imagined and the dependent natures, states that Kha-bo-che and later Dol-po-pa are certainly following the *Bṛhaṭṭīkā* and not the orthodox Yogācāra position as found in the works of Vasubandhu (p. 89). It was, however, of great importance for the Jonangpas to read this particular understanding of *trisvabhāva* into the works of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, because these were considered by Dol-po-pa to be Madhyamaka works (see also Stearns, p. 97). Thus Dol-po-pa justifies his *trisvabhāva* theory in the *Ri chos nges don* (97b2-98a6) on the basis of the *Madhyamaka-Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* (he calls it that), while Tāranātha establishes the same *trisvabhāva* theory in his *gZhan ston snying po* on the basis of the *Madhyāntavibhāga* by resolving tensions between two *trisvabhāva* models in the latter. In a final section (pp. 98-105) Stearns distinguishes two approaches to enlightenment. While it was widely accepted in Tibet that enlightenment is attained through simply recognizing the nature of one's own mind, or the essence of thoughts (*rnam rtog gi ngo bo*) to be the *dharmakāya*, Dol-po-pa said that this would lead to nothing; rather, the vital winds must be completely withdrawn into the central channel (*avadhūti*). Stearns observes that this approach reflects Dol-po-pa's Sakya upbringing and that it was mainly directed against the *mahāmudrā* teaching of the Kagyu. This raises the question how later Kagyupas who followed the doctrine of *gzhan-stong* managed to blend it with their *mahāmudrā* tradition.

The second part of Stearns's study starts with an introduction (pp. 106-112) to the translation of *A General Commentary on the Doctrine* (pp. 113-126). For Stearns it is the most significant of Dol-po-pa's early texts. Stearns makes use of an unpublished commentary written by Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal in 1333 while the great *stūpa* at Jonang was still under construction. And it was while erecting the *stūpa* that Dol-po-pa started to speak openly of the distinction between *rang-stong* and *gzhan-stong*. The metrical text contains several of Dol-po-pa's key technical terms, but not *kun-gzhi ye-shes* or *gzhan-stong*. A topical outline of Nya-dbon's commentary has been inserted within parentheses in the translation, while important passages of the commentary are given in paraphrase or translation in annotations. In his introduction (pp. 123-126) to the translation of the *Fourth Council* (pp. 127-173), Stearns points out that *A General Commentary on the Doctrine*, the *Ocean of Definitive Meaning* and the *Fourth Council* are the three major works of Dol-po-pa. The famous Sakya master Dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan requested Dol-po-pa to compose *The Fourth Council*, which shows, according to Stearns, that the Sakyapas were not totally opposed to the *gzhan-stong* teachings. Stearns dates the work to the year 1358 and takes it to be the culmination of Dol-po-pa's literary output (pp. 123f.).

Both translations (*A General Commentary* and the *Fourth Council*) are based on the texts found in the Bhutanese edition (originally from the fortress of Gyaltse) and the Dzamtang edition. Generally the readings of the Bhutanese edition have been preferred; whenever a significant reading of Dzamtang has been chosen, this is mentioned in a note. Stearns consulted the Bhutanese edition of the autocommentary on the *Fourth Council* and used it for his annotations. The topical outlines or summaries of the text called *A Commentary on the Condensed Meaning of the Fourth Council (bKa' bsdu bzhi pa'i bsdus don 'grel pa)* have been translated and inserted into the basic text within parentheses.

Apart from some minor mistakes, both translations render the meaning in an accurate and fluent way. In the following, I will list a few of the corrigenda I noticed. First of all, the summaries of the *bsDus don* which are inserted in the second text, the *Fourth Council*, are not always a literal translation in the strict sense. Thus, in the translation of inserted sentences ending in *ha cang thal ces pa'i skyon* (*bsDus don* 256.1-2, 259.2, 260.7 and 265.7) which have been inconsistently translated as "the extreme consequences" (131, 144, 150) and "the extreme negative consequences" (165), *ces pa'i skyon* has not been rendered. One ought to construct: "The mistake [resulting in] the extreme consequences. . . ." On p. 129, the translation of the inserted sentence from the *bsDus don* should read "The mode of contradiction (*gnod*) of the two truths," or still better "How the two truths contradict [each other]" instead of "The mode of existence of the two truths." The *dbu-med* text has some uncommon abbreviations, such as *nyod* for *gnod,* which Stearns misread as *yod* (see *bsDus don* 255.4). "The absolute" in the sentence "The accusation that if the absolute is cognition it is impermanent" (p. 136) should be put in brackets, since it is not in the Tibetan (*bsDus don* 257.2). The correct translation of *lta ngan can gyi 'dod lugs brjod de lta ba'i snyigs ma brdo ba* is "In describing the tradition of those with bad views, one brings up the dregs of the view" (Stearns, p. 140: "The opinions of those with perverse views, the dregs of the view which are to be discarded"). On p. 144 (*bsDus don* 259.1) *nyes-dmigs* "disadvantage" should not be rendered by "negative consequences," a term already used for *thal-ba*. On p. 145 (in the second inserted sentence on the page) "three" in "three natures" belongs in brackets (*bsDus don* 259.4). The construction in (p. 152) "The pure ground of absolute thusness, the immutable fully established nature empty and barren of all relative phenomena from the beginning. . . ." (Tib. *kun rdzob thams cad kyis gdod nas stong zhing dben pa la dag pa'i gzhi don dam de bzhin nyid 'gyur med yongs grub de. . . .* [*bsDus don* 261.4]) does not take the locative ... *dben pa la* into account. It should be translated: "The pure ground in what is empty and barren of. . . ." The terms *dag-pa'i gzhi, don-dam . . .* etc. are appositions. Grammatically, the first term *dag-pa'i gzhi* could be a genitive attribute of *don-dam* (the genitive particle is, however, rarely dropped in non-metrical texts), but a following term can never be a genitive attribute of a preceding one. Thus it is not possible to construct "The pure ground of absolute thusness." A similar mistake is also found on p. 115, where *bde gshegs snying po 'od gsal chos kyi sku* (*bsTan pa spyi 'grel* 688.4) is translated as "The Buddha-nature of radiant light. . . ." Again, in theory, *bde-gshegs snying-po* could for metrical reasons be a genitive attribute of *'od-gsal*, but not the other way round. In that case, however, the genitive particle between *chos* and *sku* would have been dropped. On p. 156 the term *dgongs-pa* is twice translated as "meaning," and in the following (p. 157) without any obvious reason several times as "intended meaning." While the two inserted sentences ending in . . . *dpes mtshon pa'i dgongs pa* (*bsDus don* 262, l. 7 and 262, l. 7—263, l. 1) are correctly rendered as "The meaning indicated by the simile. . . ." (both on p. 156), Stearns forgot to translate . . . *mtshon pa'i* . . . in four similar constructions on p. 157 (*bsDus don* 263, l. 2, 263, l. 3, 263, l. 3 and 263, l. 4). Since he translates in these four instances *dgongs-pa* as "intended meaning" one might be tempted to assume that this is his translation of *mtshon pa'i dgongs pa*, but in *bsDus don*, 263, l. 1 (Stearns, p. 157 on the top), the inserted sentence ends in *gsungs pa'i dgongs pa*, which has been rendered as "The intended meaning of statements. . . ." In *bsDus don,*262, l. 7—263, l. 1 the word *dpes* is missing, which is not marked in a footnote. On p. 263, l. 3 there is also no *dpes*; . . . *nam mkha' la sogs kyis mtshon pa'i dgongs pa* is, however, rendered as "The intended meaning of similes such as . . . the sky" (p. 157). The correct translation should be: "The [intended] meaning indicated by sky and so forth." Unfortunately the beginning of new pages is not correctly marked in the insertions from the *bsDus don* (usually one or two lines too late), so it was not easy to identify the translated sentences.

At the bottom of the same page, Stearns translates: "The years of the first [set] (of four eons) are four million three hundred and twenty thousand, a quarter of which is stated to be a 'foot'. One foot, two, three, and four, in sequence, are stated to be the Kaliyuga, the Dvāparayuga, the Tretāyuga, and the Kṛtayuga" (pp. 127f.). In a footnote Stearns remarks that he followed the reading in the Dzamtang edition, which has a "quarter," whereas the Bhutanese edition has a "tenth," for Stearns clearly a scribal error (p. 247, fn. 6). It is obvious, however, that the reading of the Bhutanese edition is correct, since one needs to accomodate altogether ten *rkang-pas* ("foot") if the Kṛtayuga has four, the Tretāyuga three, the Dvāparayuga two and the Kaliyuga one (4+3+2+1=10). Thus the final remark in the following footnote (p. 247, fn. 7) must be corrected as well.

In the paragraph where the two truths are explained to be neither the same nor different Stearns translates *'di nyid la ni ngo bo de nyid dang / gzhan du brjod du med ces gsungs pa ste /* (*bKa' bsdu bzhi pa*, 367, l. 1-2) as: "In regard to precisely this, it is stated that the essence is inexpressible as precisely one or another" (p. 129) and remarks in a footnote (p. 249, fn. 15): "Translated following the 'Dzam thang, 210, reading of *gcig nyid*, 'one,' instead of the Bhutanese reading of *de nyid*, 'precisely that.'" I prefer to construct *'di nyid la* with *brjod du med* and take *ngo bo* as an adverbial construction in relation to *de nyid* and *gzhan*. Compare the preceding sentence (*bKa' bsdu bzhi pa* 366.6—367.1), where it is said that the two truths cannot be the same in essence nor different in essence (*bden gnyis ngo bo gcig pa mi srid la / ngo bo tha dad pa yang ma yin zhing*). The technical term *de nyid dang gzhan*, which is a little difficult to understand in Tibetan, is a literal rendering of Skt. *tattvānyatva*, expressing identity and difference (cf. *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya* I.13). Hence, the Dzamtang reading is not really different; it only uses a more common expression in proper Tibetan with the same meaning. I would thus propose the translation: ". . . precisely this (difference) can neither be called the same nor different in essence."

Due to limited space, I shall confine my remaining suggestions to a few final remarks. Sanskrit words are given with diacritical marks in a correct way. *sNa tshogs yum*, the consort of *Kālacakra*, however, is in Sanskrit not *Viśvamāta* (p. 117 et passim) but *Viśvamātṛ*, or if one prefers to use the nominative, *Viśvamātā*. The central energy channel is sometimes misspelled as *avadhūtī* (the correct form is *avadhūti*) and *Dharma-*

dharmatāvibhaṅga is wrongly given in the glossary as *Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅgha* (p. 297). Stearns does not always write Sanskrit compounds together; especially titles are written like "*Cakrasaṃvara tantra*" or "*Lalitavistara sūtra.*" The *dvandva* compound *gurubuddhabodhisattvebhyo* . . . is given as: GURU BUDDHA BODHISATTVE-BHYO . . . (Stearns, pp. 113 & 127).

With regard to the translation of technical terms, I have two suggestions. Stearns (p. 117, *bsTan pa spyi 'grel*, 690.5) translates *stong-nyid gzugs-brnyan* (Skt. *śūnyatā-bimba*) as "empty images." Understood as a *karmadhāraya* compound, *śūnyatā-bimba* would mean that something is emptiness and reflection at the same time: emptiness-reflection. As a *tatpuruṣa*, it could mean "reflection of emptiness." In any case, Dol-po-pa does not understand this term, which is crucial for his *gzhan-stong* interpretation of yogic experience, to mean images that are empty of an own-being. He rather takes it to be a truly existent "emptiness-reflection" or "reflection of emptiness," in the sense that emptiness is endowed with truly, spontaneously existing qualities, whose really existing images or reflections are directly experienced during the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* practice. Stearns himself explains that for Dol-po-pa these "empty forms" (*stong gzugs*) are actually manifestations of the Buddha-nature (p. 99). And Buddha-nature is for Dol-po-pa a synonym of the ultimate or *gzhan-stong* emptiness. The term *'du-byas* (Skt. *saṃskṛta*) is usually translated as "conditioned" (see EDGERTON: *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, s.v.) and not as "composite phenomena" (Stearns, p. 113 et passim). It was already used in early Buddhism to designate single entities (*dharma*s) which are non-composite, being indivisible, but still conditioned or caused in the sense that such a *dharma* gives rise to an almost identical one immediately after it has vanished.

Altogether, Stearns's study is a most welcome contribution to the philosophical and religious history of Tibet. It will be the starting point for all future research on *gzhan-stong*.

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